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CULTURES OF THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS, NEW GUINEA

K. E. READ

ALTHOUGH FEW AREAS in New Guinea have occasioned more interest and aroused more speculation than the Central Highlands, the peoples and cultures of this region are still largely unknown. Since the war, several anthropologists have made intensive studies of a small number of groups in the easternmost valleys, and valuable information has been contributed from time to time by members of missionary orders stationed among the people farther to the west; but a great deal remains to be done before we are in a position to assess the significance and the relationships of the Highland cultures. Some groups have not yet been contacted by European government; others are still classed as uncontrolled, and the task of those who are contemplating field-work in the area is not an easy one. Even if they have a specific interest in mind, there is a dearth of factual information to guide them in the choice of a likely locale for their operations.

It is obviously impossible at present to make any definite pronouncements on problems peculiar to the Highlands, or to divide them, at least with any finality, into their component culture areas; but there is need for a move in this direction, for a survey of the work already done and for an attempt to assess the principal similarities and differences of the numerous groups comprising the large population. In the past, little or no attempt has been made to obtain a systematic ethnographic coverage of New Guinea. Between the two world wars, the pattern of research was extremely haphazard. Individual workers were neither required nor encouraged to coördinate their activities, nor to regard them as fitting into any more comprehensive plan. The result was a number of studies which covered a vast geographical area but which were widely separated and largely unrelated. I do not, for that reason, question the value of these con-

tributions. Apart from their individual merits, our present knowledge of New Guinea ethnology owes a great deal to the fact that such studies were widely dispersed, to the fact, that is, that they gave us a number of random samples from the whole region. But the position today has altered. Knowing more of New Guinea cultures generally, we are also in a better position to assess both the general and the particular problems which need examination; we can suggest which fields of enquiry are critical and which areas are most likely to repay investigation.[1] The area for original study remains practically unlimited, but since this does not apply to the amount of finance and the number of workers available, there is need to ensure that time and effort are not dissipated on the less essential.

My aim in this paper is to indicate the most suitable areas for future research in the Central Highlands. I suggest that there are, in fact, a limited number of culture areas to which the attention of prospective field-workers should, at this stage, be directed, and, in support of this view, I describe some of the principal similarities and differences of the various cultural-linguistic groups. It must be recognized, however, that my conclusions are not the result of systematic observations over the whole region. I have a detailed, first-hand acquaintance of only four groups in the eastern Highlands and for the rest I have relied on the obvious, perhaps superficial information which anyone who has travelled through the area could also collect. I therefore make no claims to finality, for the adequacy of my survey must be tested in the field.[2]

THE PEOPLE AND COUNTRY

The Highlands of New Guinea form a region which is more or less isolated geographically from the surrounding country by high mountain ranges. They are most simply described as a chain of valleys lying at heights of from four to seven thousand feet and stretching roughly from east to west across the center of the country. To the west, the valleys are comparatively open, but elsewhere they are separated by the ranges which are from twelve to fourteen thousand feet in height. Four major river systems originate in this mountainous interior, the Fly and the Purari flowing south to the Gulf of Papua, and the Ramu and

1 The South Pacific Research Council has recently sponsored a survey of the work already carried out in the field of social anthropology in Papua-Melanesia (Project S.5, b). The survey and the formulation of a plan for future research were undertaken by Professor A. P. Elkin of The University of Sydney, whose findings have been published under the title *Social Anthropology in Melanesia* (London, 1953).

2 My fieldwork in the eastern Highlands in 1950-1952 was carried out as a Research Fellow of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University.

the Sepik which reach the sea on the northern coast. Originally one area for administration, the Highlands have recently been divided into three Districts: Eastern, Western, and Southern. Ethnographically, however, it is more satisfactory to regard them as comprising eastern, central, and western subdivisions.

There has been no complete census of the Highland population, but on present figures it is safe to say that the area contains over half a million people and is thus the most heavily populated part of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. The population is not evenly distributed. The over-all density, for example, is less in the easternmost valleys (Kainantu and Goroka Sub-Districts) and greatest in the central subdivision (Chimbu Sub-District), where there are approximately 250,000 inhabitants. A recent report claims that there is only a little over five acres of land per head in the Chimbu region, and, if this proves to be true, problems of considerable magnitude could arise there in the foreseeable future.[3] Some pressure does apparently exist and has resulted in a considerable migration of Chimbu people over the ranges eastwards into the less heavily populated Miruma and Kofena groups. Similar conditions may also be found in Wabaga, where there are 70,000 people living in a relatively small valley.

The terrain of the Highlands is extremely mountainous and the difficulties to communication are immense.[4] The scenery has been described as being "mostly perpendicular," hardly an exaggeration where native gardens are frequently sited on slopes at angles of sixty degrees. The heaviest population, however, is located on the more level floors of the grass valleys and on the lower slopes of the surrounding foothills. Over the generations the timber line has been pushed farther and farther back in the ranges until today the typical valley is enclosed by a series of completely denuded ridges.[5] In the eastern valleys, natural timber

3 This estimate is contained in a report from the Assistant District Officer of the Chimbu Sub-District. It is not certain whether the figure is based on the total land available or on the area under actual cultivation at the time. If the former is implied, and taking into consideration the pattern of shifting agriculture, it would mean that at any one time each person is dependent on not much more than one acre of land. This seems hardly possible, but at the best the figure can be only a rough approximation.

4 At present the Highlands are served solely by aircraft operating from the principal coastal centers.

5 It is a difficult question to decide whether or not devastation has increased since the establishment of European government. In some areas the people agree that it has, claiming that they have been more prodigal of their timber resources since they obtained steel axes. But elsewhere I have noticed that groups have begun to move down from the timber line to the lower grass-covered slopes. These people point out that the cessation of intertribal warfare has enabled them to return to areas which are more easily cultivated. There is probably no general tendency either one way or the other, but the question requires thorough investigation. Enquiries are hampered by the fact that in the valleys where there has been longest contact with Europeans it is difficult to obtain any certain indications of the position of the timber line when the first explorers entered the area.

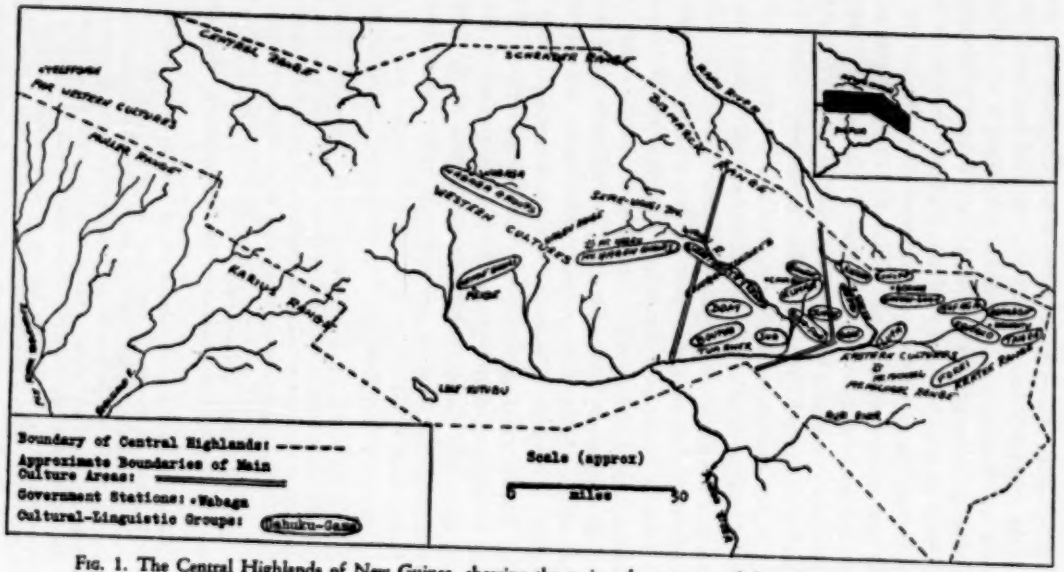

FIG. 1. The Central Highlands of New Guinea, showing the main culture areas and the cultural-linguistic groups.

is seldom found near any of the native settlements. The groves of casuarinas and bamboos which are such a distinctive feature of the landscape are all hand-planted and are individually owned. Tree seedlings are grown extensively in every garden, and in the open grasslands these eventually provide almost the sole source of timber, being used for dwellings, for stockades and for firewood. The bamboo—of which there are two principal varieties—provides material for a number of domestic purposes. Knives and arrows are manufactured from it, and it is the only receptacle for water.[6]

In physical characteristics and culture the peoples of the Highlands reflect their geographical isolation. As a whole, the population shows no very marked physical differences, though it is likely that a limited number of local ethnic types will emerge as systematic investigations are made. Some of the apparent differences which strike a casual observer are no doubt due to different styles of dressing the hair and different conventions of ornamentation. The main ethnic dividing line separates the peoples of the east from those of the west. In the east—the Kainantu, Goroka, and Bena-Bena areas—the people are mostly of small to medium stature with rather dark skin coloring. The extreme of this type is found among some of the Forei-speaking groups to the south of Mount Michael and again in the west in the vicinity of the Jimmi River. In the Hagen and Chimbu areas the type is considerably taller and of lighter skin color. It is here that we also find the so-called "Semitic" type. It is worth while noting, however, that even this variety is not confined to the west but occurs with more or less frequency throughout the whole region.

I made no systematic investigations of personality, but like other fieldworkers who have lived for a long period in a native community, I was impressed by certain dominant attitudes which *in toto* approximate to a basic personality structure. Those who have had close personal experience of Highland conditions would most likely agree that the people are difficult to live with, and this not only on account of their general squalor and primitive way of life, but also because of more specific traits of personality. Warfare is the dominant orientation of the Highland cultures, and there are few instances where the people have quietly submitted to European efforts to pacify them. The typical Highlander could be characterized as flamboyant and aggressive. There are many who are non-assertive, but they are not the individuals who are admired or held up as the ideal. The most respected men are the warriors, and the training

6 Europeans have introduced a soft-wooded shrub of the *crotalaria* species. It has rapidly become naturalised and is now a most valuable source of firewood.

given to young people places a marked emphasis on physical aggression.[7] Proud, and quick to take offence, the Highlanders are also quarrelsome, and the villages in which I lived were seldom peaceable places for very long. They are florid and theatrical talkers: oratory is regarded as a special and esteemed gift, and the prominent people are always "the men who can talk." Such individuals stand out at every gathering, where they embark on emotional and frequently violent harangues which many are able to sustain without pause for over half an hour. Oratory, indeed, is regarded as an art, and the speaker and his listeners appear to derive great satisfaction from a virtuoso performance. There are numerous conventions of gesture and phraseology which need not concern us, though it is worth while pointing out that they all tend towards creating the appearance of aggressive self-assertion. The people are demonstrative in their every-day relationships, and they have a bent for self display. Their customary greeting is a full embrace, persons of either sex holding one another round the buttocks and pressing their genitals together.[8] They seldom appear relaxed; indeed, to the outsider they seem to be continually on the verge of some more or less violent and unexpected outburst, and continual close association with them becomes a strain.[9]

The languages of the Highlands are all of a non-Austronesian type, belonging to the group which is called "Papuan." Melanesian languages are found in the Markham Valley, but crossing over the ranges into the Highlands Papuan languages make their appearance and continue throughout the region to a point west of Wabaga.[10] Capell remarks that

> the most interesting feature of the languages . . . is that however different their vocabularies, the grammatical structure is the same in essential throughout, from Finschafen on the eastern coast of the Huon Peninsular to a point west of Wabaga,

7 Cf. my paper, *The Gahuku-Gama of the Central Highlands* (South Pacific, vol. 5, no. 8, 1951). Catherine H. Berndt finds a similar emphasis in the culture of the Usurufa-speaking peoples south of Kainantu. Cf. her paper, *Socio-Cultural Change in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 9, no. 1, 1953, p. 133: "In the light of present material, we may reasonably assume that one of the main emphases of this society was on physical aggression."

8 There are several customary verbal greetings. The most commonly used in the Goroka area—spoken as the embrace is given—is *serok* or *serokove*, a contraction of *ase roko nouve*, literally, "I eat your excreta." Similar phrases are used throughout the region.

9 My conclusion that there are marked psychological tensions in Highland life is partly confirmed by the number of patients with nervous disorders who were treated at the Goroka Native Hospital during my period in the field.

10 The known languages of the Highlands have been classified and described by A. Capell in *Distribution of Languages in the Central Highlands, New Guinea* (Oceania, vol. 19, nos. 2, 3, and 4, 1948-1949).

not yet defined. The essential features of grammar recur with almost monotonous regularity from language to language, and these features are the same in general outline as in Kate and Ono.[11]

Capell has listed and given brief notes on twenty-nine of the languages; he has not made it clear, however, that the names which he has given them have little utility except as labels by which to differentiate and compare them. Typically, the Highlanders have no names for the languages which they speak, nor do they recognize inclusive names for the various cultural-linguistic groups.[12] Within each valley there is a considerable similarity in vocabulary from language to language. Thus, Capell again considers that it is right to speak of the languages of the eastern subdivision as ultimately forming only two groups, represented by Agarabe and Kamano.[13] In each of these two main groups there are various component languages, not all of which are mutually intelligible. The Kamano group, for example, would include not only Kamano proper but also Hofaga, Gahuku (with dialects), Kofena, Lunupe, Gabejuha, Jabijuha, and Siane. A linguistic break occurs as one moves west from the Goroka Valley into Chimbu. Chimbu languages differ more markedly in phonetics and vocabulary from those of the east, though they are themselves related to the Hagen languages and others farther west. Those of the Wabaga region stand farthest apart. It is not known, as Capell points out, how far the Wabaga form of speech extends, but at Telefomin, in the far west, we arrive at an entirely different type. Moving from east to west, therefore, one passes through four principal linguistic subdivisions. The boundaries of these are nowhere very clearly defined; there is rather a gradual shading out from one linguistic center to another. The same may also be said of cultural boundaries.

All the peoples of the Highlands are agriculturalists. The sweet potato is their staple crop, and much the same subsidiary foodstuffs—bananas, yams, taro, pit-pit, and various greens—are cultivated everywhere, though there are some regional variations. There are no marked differences in material culture. The simple digging stick and stone adze are the principal implements, though the

11 *Idem*, p. 106

12 I refer here to an internal characteristic of the cultural-linguistic groups. The members of a particular group may refer to the people of a neighboring area by an inclusive name, but the latter will not use this name among themselves, or they may apply it only to a small segment of the cultural-linguistic whole. Thus, some of the Mount Hagen tribes refer to the peoples of Wabaga as *Enga*, but the Wabaga have no inclusive name for themselves. Similarly, the Goroka tribes speak of "the Siane," meaning the inhabitants of the Pira area. *Siane* is the customary greeting among these people. It is equivalent in meaning to *ase roko nouve* (footnote 8 above), but it is not employed as an inclusive name by the Pira groups.

13 *Idem*, p. 107.

peoples of Chimbu and Wabaga also possess a crude, paddle-shaped wooden spade. In Chimbu and particularly round Mount Hagen we also find the supreme examples of Highland craftsmanship, the ceremonial stone-bladed axes for which the region is renowned.[14]

Highland agriculture has always impressed visitors as being of a particularly high standard. Some rather extravagant claims have been made which possibly cannot be pressed too far, but Highland gardens show a considerable advance in skill over those of the lowland areas. The characteristic type of cultivation differs slightly throughout the area. In the east, the staple is grown in long straight rows after the ground has been thoroughly dug and cultivated. In the more mountainous parts of Chimbu there is little cultivation and the tubers are grown in mounds, whilst in the Waghi, Mount Hagen, and Wabaga areas we find the checker-board system which gives the landscape such a characteristic appearance from the air. Some groups are said to practice terracing, though the only examples I have seen are very crude, consisting of a barrier of sticks and small saplings, perhaps nine inches high, which is constructed across the slope of the ground.[15]

The dress of the eastern peoples is similar and differs in many respects from that of the Chimbu and groups farther west. Men of the Kainantu-Goroka area wear a cloth gee-string made from the bark of a species of hibiscus. The women of Kainantu and Bena-Bena have a grass skirt, short at the front and rather longer at the back, which is similar to female apparel in the Markham Valley. In the Goroka area and westwards, women's dress consists of a narrow string apron with a "tail" of mid-calf length. Moving into Chimbu, the men, instead of the gee-string, wear a long net apron (the pidjin English *bilum*) suspended from a wide bark waistband, with bunches of leaves concealing the buttocks. This remains the characteristic male attire until arriving at Telefomin, where males are entirely naked except for a penis gourd. Hair styles show a comparable

14 An account of Chimbu material culture is given by J. Nilles in *Digging-sticks, Spades, Hoes, Axes and Adzes of the Kuman People in the Bismarck Mountains of East-Central New Guinea* (Anthropos, vol. 37-40, 1938, pp. 205-212). An excellent account of Kukukuku technology which is applicable to the Highland cultures has been given by Beatrice Blackwood in *The Technology of a Modern Stone Age People in New Guinea* (Occasional Papers on Technology 3, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, 1950).

15 Dr Ward H. Goodenough records the use of compost in agriculture amongst the Wabaga peoples. Cf. his paper *Ethnographic Notes on the Mae People of New Guinea's Western Highlands* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 9, no. 1, pp. 29-44, 1953), p. 31: "Gardening is ingeniously done in symmetrically laid out square mounds of earth filled with compost. The purpose of the compost is to keep the soil warm enough to promote normal growth of the staple sweet potato crop, and, in the higher regions, to prevent it being killed by frost."

range of variations. In the east, men's hair is worn in long ringlets reaching to the shoulders. The Chimbu wear their hair short, while in the Wabaga area we meet the distinctive mushroom or "bull's horn" wigs which are made from the clippings of a man's own hair and that of his deceased relatives.

Gold-lip shell (pidjin English *kina*) is an important valuable throughout the region, though the principal center of gold-lip is in the Chimbu Valley. In the east, large white cowries (pidjin English *kumu-kumu*) were formerly regarded as more desirable and were found in greatest quantity. The spread of gold-lip has been greatly facilitated by Europeans, who have imported large quantities over the years. Before the coming of the White man, the eastern peoples apparently obtained most of their gold-lip from Chimbu in exchange for pigs. Nowadays, the position has been reversed and the Chimbu obtain most of their supplies from the eastern tribes who are nearest the main European settlement at Goroka.

Ceremonial dress is everywhere brilliant and elaborate, but in general the decorative and pictorial arts are not highly developed. If one excepts the intricate and beautiful arrows (and in Chimbu some ceremonial spears), there is very little carving and there are practically no specialized crafts. There is no pottery, since food is either steam-cooked in earth-ovens or in bamboos or simply roasted in the ashes of the fire. A simple pictorial art has recently been discovered amongst the Kukukuku, who are perhaps poorer in material culture than any of the Highlanders, but there is little of a comparable nature until one reaches Telefomin, where the facade of the men's house is sometimes covered with painted designs, showing, perhaps, the influence of the extremely rich art area of the Sepik.[16]

Highland cultures are unmistakably Melanesian, though linguistic groups are much larger than we are accustomed to find in New Guinea. Thus the Kuman-speaking peoples of Chimbu number between sixty and eighty thousand, whilst in the Wabaga area there are possibly seventy thousand who speak Tchaga and its related dialects. The linguistic groups in the east are on the whole smaller. In the Goroka region, for example, Gahuku-Gama is spoken by only eight

16 Amongst the Kuman-speaking peoples of Chimbu we find elaborately painted head boards (*gerua*) which are manufactured for a particular fertility rite. *Vide* J. Nilles, *The Kuman of the Chimbu Region, Central Highlands, New Guinea* (Oceania, vol. 21, no. 1, 1950). These head boards are also found amongst the Watabung, Asaro, Miruma, Kofena, and Siane peoples, but they do not appear farther east than the Asaro River. The eastern Gahuku-Gama make painted bark-cloth dance ornaments in a variety of shapes and frequently from eight to ten feet high. These are tied to a dancer's back at the great pig festivals, but on the conclusion of the ceremonies they are destroyed or thrown away.

thousand people, though an additional eight thousand or so speak dialects of it. The effective social and political units are nevertheless relatively small. Thus, the largest political group among the Gahuku-Gama numbers approximately one thousand individuals, and this is probably characteristic of the Highlands as a whole. Social structures are non-centralized and segmentary. There is no rank or class system, though it may be necessary to make a few reservations for certain areas, such as Wabaga, where special conditions seem to apply. Contrary to the reports of early white visitors, hereditary leadership is not found anywhere. Leadership is achieved and, as elsewhere, the qualifications for authority depend on the social structure and the preferred personality type, that is, on seniority in the lineage and clan systems allied to such qualities as warrior prowess, skill in oratory and in wealth (measured primarily in pigs) which is employed in group activities. Political systems are essentially of a self-adjusting type. There are no specifically political offices. Kinship, economic, and religious institutions provide the framework for political action and operate politically when occasion arises.

The economic pattern is that of a subsistence economy in which there is a margin of goods for ceremonial exchange. Land and labor are for the most part excluded from commerce, though here we must note that few Highland groups are oversupplied with land, and, as a result, conquest played a part in the incessant intertribal fighting. Again, even before the coming of Europeans, land was sometimes sold.[17] The basic economic unit is the family, whose members provide for most of their joint needs, though from time to time there is recourse to a larger organization. A recent innovation in the Goroka tribes has been the introduction of hired labor from groups farther to the west. Most of these hired hands come from the Chimbu area and find employment in the Gahuku-Gama groups which are nearest to the government station. They are housed and fed by their Gahuku employers and at the end of a period which varies from three to six months, they are paid either in kind or cash.[18] Money has rapidly entered the economy, but for the most part wealth still consists primarily of perishables.

17 Amongst the eastern Gahuku-Gama, rights to land were sometimes relinquished in return for a payment of pigs and shell valuables.

18 Being nearest to the rapidly expanding European settlement at Goroka, the Gahuku-Gama tribes are most favorably situated for acquiring a cash income. Native grown foodstuffs find a ready sale to the various government departments and to non-official White settlers, and since the beginning of 1953, when a pulping plant began operations, passion fruit has become an important cash crop. There are, however, few such opportunities in the more distant and more heavily populated Chimbu Valley. Chimbu people who desire money or the goods of European manufacture which it will buy, accordingly comprise the majority of the laborers recruited for local and coastal plantations. The number who accept work with native employers is small, but as the Gahuku-Gama begin to produce a wider variety of crops for cash, the demand for casual paid help is likely to increase.

Any accumulation of wealth can be only for a short time, and its does not, therefore, give rise to permanent class distinctions though it confers prestige, due to the fact that the wealthy individual is able to contribute more to feasts and other ceremonial activities.

THE MAIN CULTURE AREAS

Considering the Highlands as a whole, it is likely that further investigations will reveal a wide uniformity of culture. This is certainly the case in the eastern areas, where there is not only a marked uniformity of culture but also a uniform emphasis on certain cultural themes. All the known peoples of the Highlands are patrilineal. Descent, inheritance, and succession are traced through males, but ties with maternal kin are also important everywhere. The patrilineage, which has a depth of from four to five generations, is found from Kainantu at least as far west as Wabaga. In some areas (e.g., Wabaga), this group takes the name of the founding male ancestor; in others it is designated by a descriptive phrase.[19] Everywhere, however, the patrilineage is a segment of a more inclusive structure which includes sub-clans, named local clans, sub-tribes and tribes. Writing on the Mae peoples of Wabaga, Goodenough refers to the larger structural groups as moieties and phratries. Amongst the eastern Gahuku-Gama, I have used the term tribe to designate a group which appears to be similar to the Mae phratry.[20] It has been established in the past that, strictly speaking, there are no tribes in Melanesia, but the characteristics of the largest socio-political groups in the eastern Highlands—and probably elsewhere—seem to warrant the use of the term. Typically, the largest political unit possesses a common, inclusive name; its members speak the same language; it has a loose territorial organization, and warfare is prohibited within the group.[21] Fighting occurs quite fre-

19 Amongst the Gahuku-Gama, individuals of the same patrilineage refer to themselves as *ha'makoko dzuha none*, literally, "one *dzuha* we are." *Dzuha noure* means to "plant seeds." Cf. also, *dzuha neta*, seeds; *gizasi dzuha*, the root portion of a banana palm; and, similarly, *gasi dzuha*, *masi dzuha*, the seed portions of yams and taro respectively. The patrilineage (*dzuha*) is obviously conceived of here as a group of people sprung from a common "root," that is, a group directly related through the possession of a common ancestor. Two alternative usages are also of interest. In the first *ha'makoko dzuha none* may be rendered as *zahi agisamini none*, literally, "sugar-cane its leg we are." The reference here is to the slips of sugar-cane which are planted in new gardens and which later send up a number of shoots from the base. Membership in different patrilineages may be rendered by *zahi agisamini (zahi) agisamini (zahi) agisamini niave*, that is, "they belong to (three) different patrilineages." Lastly, the word *naga*, a vine, may be substituted for *dzuha*, as in *ha'makoko naga none*, "one vine we are."

20 Cf. Goodenough, *Ethnographic Notes on the Mae People* (*op. cit.*), and K. E. Read, *Land in the Central Highlands* (South Pacific, vol. 6, no. 7, 1952) and *Nama Cult of the Central Highlands* (Oceania, vol. 23, no. 1, 1952).

21 Among the Gahuku-Gama the tribal name is most frequently a compound formed from the names of the component sub-tribes.

quently within the tribe, but it has to be distinguished from warfare proper in that it has to be concluded amicably. Warfare, on the other hand, occurs between traditional enemies; it carries on indefinitely and is never concluded, although it may be temporarily discontinued as a result of pacts.[22] Warfare is characteristic of intertribal relationships, and the larger cultural-linguistic groups are in fact composed of a number of these political units which are linked to one another by a complex network of ties and cleavages.

The cultures of the east are characterized by a marked sex dichotomy which finds its most obvious and elaborate expression in the institution of the men's club house. From Kainantu to Chimbu, the men's club house is the center of the cult of the sacred flutes. The flutes are exclusively male possessions and, apart from their religious significance, they are preëminently symbols of male dominance. In one form or another, the men's club house is found throughout the whole region, at least as far to the west as Telefomin. It is not as elaborate as the superb structures of the Sepik, but it is nevertheless an important center of ritual life. In the Bena-Bena-Goroka region it is little different from the ordinary dwelling house, though larger in size. Here, the club house normally stands at one end of the village, separated from the other houses by a low fence. In the Mount Michael area it is considerably larger, oval in shape and sometimes decorated with painted boards which are hung below the eaves. It is frequently sited in the center of the village on a commanding rise. Moving west through Chimbu to Mount Hagen and Wabaga, the club house apparently loses some of its significance as the principal center of ritual life, but the largest and most elaborately decorated club houses appear again in the extreme west at Telefomin.

Widespread uniformities of culture and structure may therefore be postulated. But there are also significant differences, and in attempting to separate the major culture areas a first and definite dividing line must be drawn along the Chimbu divide, thus differentiating the eastern area from the west. This boundary is based firstly on linguistic criteria: the languages of the eastern valleys are more closely related one with another than they are with those of Chimbu. Similarly, the Chimbu languages are more closely related to those farther west (excluding Telefomin) than to those of the east. In addition, there are cultural differences which, though superficial, are immediately apparent. Of these I have mentioned certain differences in dress and adornment as well as the increased importance of gold-lip shell in Chimbu. Again, the Chimbu Valley is the center of the *gerua*

22 The Gahuku-Gama refer to fighting within the tribe as *hina*. Warfare, that is fighting between traditionally hostile tribes, is called *rova*.

fertility rite. This is also found amongst the Asaro on the eastern side of the divide, but it is not found among the Gahuku-Gama, Bena-Bena, or Kainantu groups. The change in settlement pattern is, however, the most significant difference on crossing the Chimbu divide from east to west.

East of Chimbu, from the Asaro to Kainantu and south of Mount Michael, the people live in villages containing from as few as ten to over fifty houses. These settlements were formerly stockaded as a protection against attack, and in many outlying areas this is still the case. There are slight regional variations in the arrangement of the villages. In the Goroka area, for example, the houses are erected in a long straight line fronting a cleared area of land. Elsewhere, we find a double line of dwellings with a central street, whilst in yet other groups the settlement is roughly circular in plan. Throughout the east, however, the characteristic feature is the compact group of dwellings standing on a commanding site and surrounded with cultivations. The larger villages may contain the members of more than one named clan; the smaller, members of a particular sub-clan or several linked patrilineages.

The accompanying diagram (Fig. 2) is the plan of a typical settlement in the Goroka (Gahuku-Gama) area. The houses stand on a comparatively narrow ridge in the midst of an extensive series of cultivations. They are arranged in a straight line, seldom more than a few feet apart, fronting the street (*gapo*). Strictly speaking, all the dwellings except the men's club house at the end of the village are women's houses. In pre-European times men and women did not sleep under the same roof.[23] A man had a house for each of his wives, and he kept many of his personal possessions in them, but since constant association with women was thought to be weakening, he regularly slept in the club house with his male contemporaries and seniors and all boys over the age of about ten years. As the diagram shows, members of the same patrilineage tend to reside together in a particular section of the village. This is characteristic, though the very strong ties which exist between age-mates exert a modifying influence. Thus, a man may choose to live near an age-mate belonging to a different sub-clan rather than amongst the members of his own patrilineage. Other structural features are clearly apparent in the linear type of settlement. That which is represented here, for example, consists of two principal sections, each of which is inhabited by the members of a particular sub-clan. The dwellings of members of sub-clan A occupy the northern end of the village. They are close to one another, spaced only a few feet apart, whereas a wider interval separates them from the southern section occupied by members of sub-clan B. This structural

23 This applies to all Highland groups.

differentiation is characteristic of the larger settlements which are occupied by members of two or more named groups. It is not, however, apparent in the smaller villages. The diagram indicates, furthermore, that there is, on an average, one earth oven to every four dwellings. As a general rule, members of the same

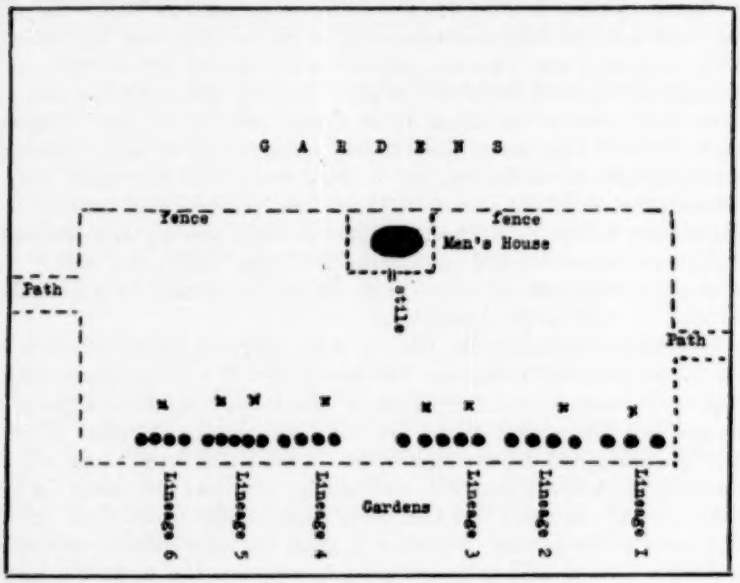

FIG. 2. Diagram of eastern settlement type: Gahuku-Gama. (Houses are shown by solid dots, ovens by crosses. Lineages 1, 2, 3, are segments of sub-clan A, lineages 4, 5, 6 of sub-clan B.)

patrilineage share an oven. These require considerable preparation, and they are not, however, used every day. The evening meal is mostly cooked in the ashes of the fire outside each house.

The village of the east is a closely knit group. Its members are in close daily association with one another, and they share the widest range of common interests and common life. The smaller settlements are also predominantly kinship units, and even in the larger villages most people are related by more or less direct kinship ties. The village, moreover, is the center of ceremonial and ritual life. All important group activities take place either at the men's club house, in the

village street, or in the surrounding gardens. While, therefore, a man's closest bonds are with the members of his patrilineage, his daily association from infancy onwards with members of other groups has an obvious importance in the formation of wider ties and group loyalties. Village life gives rise to a continually interweaving pattern in which the independent identity of each segment, though never lost, becomes absorbed in the common identity of the whole. On the organizational level, the village is the core of community. It stands in relationship to the social structure as that center on which all the most important group ties converge and from which they radiate. The common life of the village, the give-and-take of daily intercourse, and the manifold corporate interests and activities give rise, moreover, to strong emotional bonds, to that sense of belonging, that idea of togetherness which underlies and upholds the group organization.

Turning to the western region, the residential pattern is entirely different. Villages disappear on crossing from the east to the Chimbu Valley, and from here to Mende in the south the organization is one of scattered homesteads. Our second diagram (Fig. 3), for example, is the plan of a typical residential area in the Wabaga region. A majority of the dwellings are again sited on the crest of a wooded ridge, and, as one observer has remarked, they are tucked away among the trees so that each house seems isolated from its neighbors. In fact, however, this is often not the case, since the dwellings may not be more than twenty yards apart, though in many instances they are separated by greater distances. But they are not arranged according to any formal plan. Dispersed over an area of perhaps half a square mile, the scattered homesteads form a neighborhood which, superficially at least, shows none of the characteristics of the closely knit residential group of the east.[24]

The Wabaga neighborhood contains the homesteads of people who, for the most part, belong to a single local patriclan. Once again, men and women do not sleep together, though it will be noticed that instead of a common club house there are numerous men's dwellings. Normally, each married man has a house for his wife and a separate dwelling for himself, where he sleeps with his unmarried brothers and sons, an age-mate (who may belong to a different patrilineage), and frequently, it would seem, age-mates of his sons. As in the eastern cultures, age is again an important principle of association which tends to cut across or modify the ties established by lineage membership. Thus, an unmarried youth may elect to live with an age-mate belonging to a different

24 For this plan and the accompanying information on the Wabaga residential group I am indebted to Mr M. Brightwell of the Department of District Services and Native Affairs.

lineage rather than with his own father and brothers. As a result, few of the men's houses are inhabited by members of one patrilineage.[25]

The Wabaga patriclan, numbering from as few as sixty to over eight hundred individuals, is a major segment of a more inclusive named group, phratry

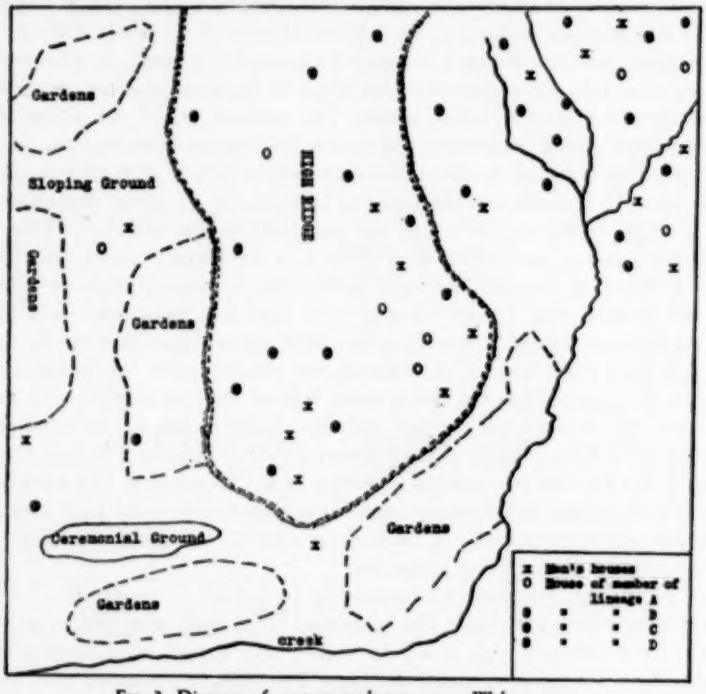

FIG. 3. Diagram of western settlement type: Wabaga area.

or, perhaps, tribe. Each patriclan is also composed of a number of lesser genealogical segments, patrilineages, whose members trace a common descent through males from a common male ancestor. In the eastern cultures, the segmentary relationships of the comparable structural groups are reflected in the residential

25 Among the eastern Gahuku-Gama, the closeness of the age-mate relationship is accompanied by a marked sibling rivalry. Mr R. M. Berndt has informed me that this is also characteristic of the cultures of the south Kainantu region. In both these areas there are also particularly close bonds between brothers and sisters.

pattern, but the Wabaga example shows that this is not a characteristic feature in the west. Thus, although the members of a particular patriclan form the nucleus of each neighborhood, the living arrangements are not obviously structured. There is, for example, no general tendency for the members of a patrilineage to reside near one another. Their dwellings are dispersed fairly widely throughout the living area, and the choice of site is apparently determined by a number of factors apart from genealogical connections.

The Wabaga patriclan is a corporate group. Its members are said to have common rights and obligations, and they are united by bonds of direct coöperation. The scattered homesteads nevertheless preclude the intimate day-to-day association characteristic of the eastern villages. It is significant, therefore, that throughout the western cultures special ceremonial grounds provide a common meeting place and focus of unity for the local group, whereas the eastern village is itself the center of ceremonial and ritual life.

The ceremonial grounds are irregular clearings which are situated at some distance from the scattered homesteads.[26] Typically, though not invariably, there are dwellings nearby which provide overnight accommodation for the participants at a particular event. The Mende area is remarkable for the great size of these houses. Frequently over one hundred yards long, they are divided into a number of smaller units each of which has a separate entry from the ceremonial ground. The size of the Mende house is correlated with group prestige, and there is lively competition to see which group is able to fell the largest timbers and erect the largest house. Elsewhere, the dwellings are less elaborate, but, excluding Telefomin, the ceremonial ground has a major structural significance throughout the western region. Thus, at Wabaga each patriclan is identified with a named ceremonial ground where all major clan gatherings and festivities take place. Furthermore, each segment of the patriclan is assigned to a particular section of the ceremonial ground. For example Sakaus, the ceremonial ground of Aipiap clan, is divided by an imaginary line drawn down its center. The lineages Toponaki and Takaikini sit on one side of this line while the other side is occupied by the lineages Kanamonggardi and Wananye.[27] These seating arrangements clearly reflect the main principles of social structure and, though the analogy cannot be pressed, there is a certain resemblance to the Samoan *fono*. As the

26 In the Mount Hagen area the ceremonial grounds are carefully laid out and tended, and are planted with varieties of colored shrubs. The Wabaga ceremonial ground is simply a level area which has been cleared of vegetation.

27 My information from Mr M. Brightwell. Cf. also Goodenough, *Ethnographic Notes on the Mae People* (*op. cit.*), p. 35.

fono may be regarded as a paradigm of the social structure, so also the arrangements of the Wabaga ceremonial ground express the segmentary relationships of the groups comprising the society, a function which is the more significant in these western valleys in view of the dispersed and informal residential pattern.[28]

But though the change in settlement type is perhaps the most important difference, there are other variations which serve to separate the western cultures from those of the east. The western areas, for example, are the center *par excellence* of the great pig exchanges. Throughout the Highlands, pigs are the most important items of wealth, and the greatest social gatherings are concerned with their exchange between groups. In the Goroka area, the pig festivals (Gahuku-Gama: *idza nama*) take place each year or at longer intervals, depending on the available stock. They are the most eagerly awaited of all social activities and, ideally, are an element within a more embracing ceremonial context which includes initiation rites and the betrothal of young warriors. Essentially competitive, they are connected with prestige, and they also serve to express and confirm political ties between the larger structural groups such as the tribe and sub-tribe.[29] Comparatively little is known of the western exchanges (Tchaga: *te*), but it is certain that they are larger and incorporate many elements which are not found in the east. They occur at longer intervals, variously estimated at from five to seven years, and they apparently entail a more encompassing system of interpersonal and group relationships. Primarily concerned with the exchange of valuables, they bring together individuals and groups in a widespread ceremonial partnership which possesses typical Melanesian features. The valuables involved, pigs, gold-lip and bailer shells, and axes, are pledged and change hands continually throughout the five to seven year cycle until the climax is reached in huge gatherings at the ceremonial grounds. Individual prestige is more obviously and intimately bound up with the western exchanges. Thus, the eastern festivals are primarily a group activity, and a particular individual acquires

28 Fr John Nilles S. V. D., has informed me that among the Kuman of Chimbu a special place at each ceremonial ground is dedicated to the founding ancestor of each clan.

29 A brief description of the Gahuku-Gama pig festivals is given in my paper *Nama Cult of the Central Highlands* (*op. cit.*). While the Gahuku-Gama pig festivals are much smaller than those of the Western Highlands, they are still larger and more elaborate than those of the extreme east. Mr and Mrs Berndt have told me, for example, that possibly twelve pigs at the most are killed at the festivals in the south Kainantu region, whereas I have counted from fifty to one hundred and forty animals which have been slaughtered for the Gahuku-Gama *idza nama*. It may be noted that the cultures of the extreme east are more fragmented than those in the neighborhood of Goroka and farther west. The relatively narrow compass of their effective social units coupled with a minimum of internal differentiation is more typical of Melanesia generally, and stands in marked contrast to complex, highly segmented structures of the Gahuku-Gama, the Kuman, and the Wabaga.

prestige only within a group context, to the extent, that is, of his contribution to a corporate undertaking. In the west, however, individual achievement in the exchange system is more pronounced. The most respected men are those who have had the largest number of valuables pass through their hands, an individual rising higher up the ladder of social eminence in direct proportion to the obligations he has accepted and discharged in his exchange relationships.

Summing up the evidence so far presented, the significant fact which emerges is the division into two principal culture areas roughly east and west of the Chimbu divide. The boundary is based on ethnic and linguistic criteria and on specific cultural variations which may, in fact, be more pronounced than I have suggested. At the same time, there is considerable doubt as to where to place some groups. The Asaro, for example, show both eastern and western traits. They speak a language which is little more than a dialect of Gahuku-Gama; they live in large villages and their system of permanent social groups is identical with that of their eastern neighbors. But they also possess the *gerua* fertility ritual of the Chimbu Kuman, and on certain ceremonial occasions they dress in the Chimbu fashion. This cultural overlapping is common and must be expected. Indeed, in many respects the Chimbu groups are intermediate to those of the east and those farther west, and, in general, we do not find any completely dissimilar cultures.

The cultural intergrading or overlapping becomes a serious difficulty when we attempt to designate the sub-areas within each principal division. It is highly probable that further investigation will reveal a limited number of sub-areas both in the east and the west, but at present we are hardly in a position to decide whether the apparent variations represent substantial differences or whether they are purely local and, on the whole, superficial. Present evidence suggests, however, that they have a greater significance in the west than in the east. Thus, it is not at all clear whether we can place the Telefomin peoples within the main western subdivision. The Telefomin languages are completely different from those of Hagen, Wabaga, and Chimbu, whilst in culture the Telefomin groups reveal a closer affinity with the upper Sepik than with their Highland neighbors. But disregarding Telefomin, present evidence suggests that we should place the Wabaga and the Mende slightly apart. Similarly, it seems worth while to regard the Chimbu region as a sub-area of western Highland culture. Within it I would place not only the Kuman of Chimbu proper but also their neighbors the Dom, Boumai, Gende, Tjuave, and Sinasina. The western Highlands may therefore prove to comprise four sub-areas, namely, Chimbu, Hagen, Wabaga, and Mende in the south, with Telefomin left unplaced.

Turning to the eastern region, the significant sub-areas are less readily defined. A marked uniformity of culture is apparent, but there is also a more extensive range of local variations. As a whole, the population is more fragmented. The over-all density is less than in the west, and the linguistic groups are considerably smaller. They are also more isolated, with the result that neighboring cultures, while they are of the same general type, display not only differences in particular traits but also in emphasis. The only subdivision we can make with any certainty at present follows the administrative boundary between the Kainantu and Goroka Sub-Districts. It coincides with certain geographical features, and it possesses a linguistic correlate. For example, to the east of it are the peoples speaking languages which are most closely related to Agarabe, the vernacular of the groups nearest to Kainantu station, whilst to the west we find Kamano and its numerous related tongues. The Kainantu sub-area would therefore include the cultures of the Agarabe, the Taiora, the Forei, the Gadsup, and the Binumarien. The Kamano, the Hofaga, Gahuku-Gama, Lagaria, Lambau, Gurumba, and perhaps the Siane cultural-linguistic groups come within the Goroka subdivision. This leaves unplaced a large population living to the south of Mount Michael, but the cultures of this area are not likely to differ very greatly from those already listed. Similarly, it is not worth while attempting any further differentiation within the principal subdivisions, for when the results of recent fieldwork become available we shall be in a better position to assess the significance of the numerous local variations.

There is little reliable information on Highland cultures. Since 1950, however, several field studies have been made which will eventually provide a fairly comprehensive coverage of the region. Most of this recent work has been carried out in the eastern Highlands, where communications and general living conditions impose fewer limitations on the investigator. R. M. and C. H. Berndt from the University of Sydney have been working among four linguistic groups in the Kainantu subdivision. Farther to the northwest, Dr Reo Fortune has completed a study among the Kamano linguistic group which should provide a valuable link with the work carried out by Mr and Mrs Berndt. In my own research I was primarily concerned with the Gahuku-Gama near Goroka station, but since this large group maintains important relationships with the adjoining Asaro, Lunupe, Gabejuha, and Jabijuha, I was able to extend my enquiries as far to the west as the Chimbu divide. More recently, R. Salisbury-Rowswell from the Australian National University has commenced work among the Siane which should link up with my own, and, incidentally, extend our knowledge to the

Montu, Tjuave, and Watabung, neighbors of the Chimbu Kuman, on whom there is already certain basic and reliable information.

While these studies will not give us a complete coverage of the eastern region, they indicate that there is at present a greater need for systematic investigation in the western group of cultures. More information has been available from this area in the past, but it amounts to only a small sample, and several of the major sub-areas are virtually untouched. In the Chimbu subdivision, Nilles has published an outline of Kuman culture, and there is a work in German on the neighboring Gende. Tischner and Vicedom's large work on the Mbowamb is a valuable descriptive account of a Mount Hagen culture, but Gitlow's study of economics in the same area suffers from certain obvious limitations. Several large linguistic groups in Chimbu, particularly the Dom and Boumai, require investigation, and further attention must also be given to the peoples of Mount Hagen; but the areas outstanding at present are Wabaga, Telefomin, and Mende. Until these sub-areas have been worked intensively, our knowledge of the western region must remain very far from complete.

FIELDWORK PROBLEMS

The student who goes to the Highlands will have in mind certain problems arising out of general theory and his own particular interests; others will be suggested to him in the context of the culture in which he is working. Obviously, the latter cannot be dealt with here, but it is possible to suggest certain fields of enquiry from which important conclusions may be expected.

The interest which the Highlands hold for the anthropologist lies not only in their importance for the study of New Guinea ethnography, nor in the facilities they offer for examining the processes of socio-cultural change through a series of related stages; over and above such considerations, they are also an area which is particularly suited to comparative methods and analysis. The large population lives in a region where environmental factors are relatively constant and where, moreover, they are of a kind which necessitate a specialized adaptation. Similar in their ecology, the groups of population also reveal a widespread uniformity of culture and structure. It is, perhaps, too early to speak of "Highland society" in any composite sense, but there are certain basic and recurring elements, principles of organization, emphases and configurations, in respect of which it is permissible to postulate a wide range of cultural and structural constants. At the same time, there are significant variations which, for purposes of comparison, constitute a further range of variables. The mitigating difficulties

and limitations apparent in so many attempts at cross-cultural analysis are not entirely absent, but they are at least reduced to readily handled minimum.

Many fields of enquiry are suited to comparative analysis, but one which has been neglected by students of New Guinea, and which poses a number of important questions, is that of personality and cultural ethos.[30] At present it is possible to do little more than suggest that physical aggression and violence is the dominant orientation of the Highland cultures. At a later date I intend to deal with the structural and cultural correlates of this primary emphasis among the Gahuku-Gama; it may be noted, however, that a similar trend is affirmed by Berndt and suggested by Goodenough for such widely separated peoples as those of Wabaga and the south Kainantu region. An aggressive emphasis is perhaps to be expected in groups which only a short time ago were, and in some still are, so extremely warlike. In many instances, traditional enemies were separated by only a few miles.[31] Scattered raids and organized, concerted attacks were constantly expected. Warriors kept watch at night in the palisaded villages, and during the day armed men guarded their womenfolk in the gardens. But even these precautions were insufficient, and, in the course of its recent history, each group has suffered an astonishing number of vicissitudes; some have been almost decimated, while others have undergone years of exile, continually seeking refuge in widely separated areas. In these circumstances, simple physical survival alone meant that aggression had to be countered with aggression. Assistance could be bought, and pacts were frequently concluded as matters of expediency; but treachery was also a socially approved element in diplomacy and, if it suited their political ends, refugees would rise up against those who had given them sanctuary. The aim of each group was not only to kill its enemies but also to destroy their villages, gardens, and livestock, and to deprive them of any means of support, for only thus could they safeguard their own integrity. Consequently, the successful warrior is the most respected person in the community. The ceremonies performed at initiation, with their emphasis on blood-letting, aimed to guard and secure the strength, virility, and invincibility of the young men, and the long, extremely harsh training they received in the club house continually looked forward to their role as warriors. By example and instruction, the young man learned that there was no quicker way to achieve approval and authority

30 The work of Bateson, Mead, Whiting, and Benedict has not been followed up by anthropologists who have been in the field in more recent years.

31 Among the plains-dwelling Gahuku-Gama, some enemy tribes are no more than thirty minutes' walk apart.

than through success in war, and some learned the lesson so well that they became almost legendary heroes while they were still lads of sixteen.[32]

But physical aggression is not merely a corollary of intergroup hostility. It is a more fundamental trait, the obverse of a more far-reaching insecurity in interpersonal and group relations. Physical violence and antagonism are the warp of the cultural pattern; present to some extent in most important relationships, they receive innumerable forms of symbolic and institutionalized expression. The peoples of the eastern region are cannibals who perpetrate every indignity on the bodies of the slain.[33] The punishment of wrongdoers characteristically includes public beatings and vicious humiliations. Women suspected of adultery have sticks thrust into their vagina, or, stripped naked, they are tied to a post while men throw dirt and urinate on them. Beatings across the breasts and shoulders with lengths of rattan cane are common for less serious offences, the man selected to carry out the punishment performing a dance while he belabors as many as six women in turn. Nor are women any less aggressive among themselves. Co-wives are almost invariably hostile to one another, and a suspected slight or insult is sufficient to start a fight which may end with one woman urinating in the mouth of her defeated opponent. The infliction of pain is an important element in sexual behavior. Self-injury and mutilation are customary ways of expressing sorrow and loss; suicide, principally by voluntary surrender to enemies, is a common method of seeking redress. Dominance and submission, rivalry and coercion are constantly recurring themes, manifest alike in day-to-day contexts and in ceremonial. At the conclusion of initiation ceremonies, crowds of women armed with bows and arrows, sticks and stones, and dressed in male decorations attack the returning processions of men and boys. Similar fights are staged at marriages when, characteristically enough, a man is required to shoot an arrow into the thigh of his future wife. Sexual jealousy and antagonism are present even in the relationship between age-mates. A youth, for instance, who neglects the rules of avoidance which are enjoined during his betrothal is considered to have affronted his age mates, who may retaliate by killing the girl he expects to become his wife. Volatile and jealous of their reputations, people are quick to take offence, to resort to quarrelling and to accusations of sorcery; indeed, the under-

32 Cf. my paper *The Gahuku-Gama of the Central Highlands* (*op. cit.*).

33 In a paper delivered before the Anthropological Society of New South Wales, Mr R. M. Berndt has described how crowds of women in the south Kainantu region hack at the bodies brought back by a raiding party, fighting for the best cuts. He has also recorded instances of men having intercourse with a dead enemy while they are dismembering the body. In the Goroka area, an enemy was frequently dismembered while still alive.

lying tenor of life is largely one of mutual suspicion and scarcely veiled antagonism.

To follow up this theme in all its varied modes of expression lies outside the scope of this paper; the aggressive emphasis, however, points to fundamental tensions which are significant alike to the psychologist and the student of social structure. In the eastern cultures, tension and antagonism are most clearly pronounced in the relationships between the sexes, though they are also apparent in sibling rivalry and are present to some extent in the age-mate bond. Male dominance seems to be characteristic of the western cultures as well, but certain differences in basic attitudes and in the institutionalized forms of sex relationships require investigation and comparison. These may be indicated by a brief description of the more important patterns of behavior among the Gahuku-Gama, a group which appears to be typical of the eastern peoples.

Sex differentiation in this group is more than the simple assignment of different roles and a respective sphere of interest to men and women and the over-all recognition of interdependence. No man regards a woman or her activities as being equal in importance to himself and his own affairs. Men see themselves as superior both physically and intellectually. Even in conception the roles of the sexes are not accorded equal significance. Thus, it is recognized that without a man a woman is nothing; she cannot bear children and become a mother. This, however, is true of a man only to a limited extent, for he always, as it were, carries around with him the potentiality of fatherhood, needing only the receptiveness and submission of a woman to achieve expression. A closer spiritual tie is in consequence felt to exist between a father and his child than between a mother and her child. In childless marriages, too, the woman is always blamed.

This sex dichotomy—male superiority and solidarity on the one hand and the subordinate dependence of women on the other—finds its most formalized expression in the activities of the club house, the institution which each boy enters as he reaches puberty. The eventual separation of a boy from his mother and the other women of his group is foreshadowed when he is only about five years of age, the men taking him away on the day his elder brothers are initiated, and compelling him to bathe in a cold mountain stream. He returns to his mother's house after this, taking no further part in the formal activities of the men's organization until he begins his novitiate in the men's house after his own initiation. Thereafter, however, he is virtually excluded from the life of the opposite sex for six or seven years. He is taught that since he is a man, women will naturally desire him, but that close association with them is dangerous, and that he has to keep a constant guard over his manhood. His duties are pri-

marily concerned with serving his elders in the club house, who, in turn, keep a close watch over his conduct.[34] During these years he is also expected to take an active part in warfare.

As age group follows age group in the club house, the collective sentiments, common interests and values of the men's organization are transmitted from generation to generation. It is here that the close bonds between age-mates are forged and expressed in a common submission to and dependence on their elders by the group of boys initiated together. The club house is a harsh school; abuse is more frequently the boy's lot than approbation, but from time to time, in brilliant ceremonial, his manhood and his growing importance to the community are brought home to him. The criticism he receives, the services he is required to perform and the physical hardships he endures at the hands of his elders engender a certain amount of hostility which, in the case of elder and younger brothers, is only partially repressed. Above all else, however, the training he receives emphasizes the ideal of male solidarity and the essential opposition of men and women.

Male dominance, and the preëminence of male values, is affirmed by the differential importance attached to male activities, particularly to warfare; but it is also given a symbolic, supernatural expression in the cult of the sacred *nama* flutes. The flutes belong to men exclusively; women are not permitted to see them; they are compelled to hide whenever the flutes are played, and the penalty for disobeying is death. They are led to believe that the sound of the flutes is produced by mythical birds, a deception which is also practised on boys before they become members of the club house. On initiation, however, the secret of the flutes is the most important revelation given to the novices, and thereafter, in daily life as well as ceremonial contexts, the *nama* are the supreme symbol of male hegemony.

Men, however, feel that women are not content with their role. They feel, indeed, that they need to maintain a constant vigilance to preserve their superiority and that women, given the opportunity, are prepared to challenge it.[35] Women, for example, are supposed to be unwilling to bear children and to take steps to prevent or terminate pregnancy, thereby withholding from males their right, as men, to beget children. Women do, in fact dislike bearing children. Having a baby "hurts the vulva," they say. "It is like dying, for how do we

34 Additional information on initiation ceremonies and on the men's organization is contained in my paper *Nama Cult of the Central Highlands* (*op. cit.*), pp. 10-16.

35 It is significant that men are said to have stolen the *nama* flutes from women, a belief which is apparently widespread in the eastern cultures.

know we shall get up again"? They also admit practising manual abortion and claim a knowledge of pharmacological specifics to induce sterility. Men therefore have to know how to cause pregnancy. A young man whose wife has not conceived is told by the older men that her mother and women friends have persuaded her not to have children. At their instigation he frequently challenges her and beats her, or he has recourse to magic. The female principle is in itself considered to be inimical to men, and care has to be exercised to see that youths have as little contact with it as possible, at least until they reach physical maturity. Even when cohabitation is permitted, a wife is forbidden to touch her husband's hair or his decorations, to hold his head or his nose, and after she has borne a child he undergoes a special rite to cleanse him of possible contamination from the fluids she has discharged, these deriving some of their dangerous qualities from fluid residues absorbed from her mother at the wife's own birth and released with her children.

The superiority of men, moreover, has largely to be achieved and continually demonstrated in acceptable terms. It is, in other words, the result of conscious striving as well as differential rights which automatically distinguish a superior status; and in the final analysis, the idea men hold of themselves is based primarily on what men do rather than on what they have at birth. They recognize, indeed, that in physiological endowment men are inferior to women, and, characteristically, they have recourse to elaborate artificial means to redress this contradiction and to demonstrate its opposite. A girl's growing breasts and her first menstruation are signs of a maturing process which is without obvious parallel in the life of a boy, a fact which the men resent. Betrothals are often broken off because a girl has outstripped a boy in physical growth. She sometimes runs away to a more mature man, but just as frequently the boy to whom she is betrothed refuses to consider her as his future wife, pointing out that she is obviously "too old" for him and that were he to remain bound to her he would run the risk of hearing her comment on his immaturity. There are many cases of girls who have slighted a youth in this manner and later, "when he grew big," desired to come back to him, but have been killed to avenge their former insult.

The challenge of the physiological processes of growth and sexual maturity in women is met by men in their initiation rites and thereafter by the practice of regular self-induced bleeding and magic. Men unfailingly connect menstruation with a girl's physical growth. They point to its inevitable but unexplained advent and the concomitant signs of nubility, the increasing stature, the rounding and development of the bodily frame. Menstruation is a certain sign of a girl's progress on the path to womanhood. But for the boy, manhood and physical

superiority are more a matter of chance and have therefore to be guarded, even engineered, in order to redress the balance of physiological inferiority. Initiation rites in consequence serve the same purpose for the male as menstruation for women. The one is explained in terms of the other, and the same idea, the cyclical expulsion of blood, lies behind the men's ritual of nose bleeding. Women, the elders explain to the novice, lose blood regularly each month and they quickly reach maturity as a result. The new members of the club house must therefore practice bleeding at regular intervals to ensure that they achieve physical maturity and superiority. Manhood, in fact, is never regarded as the certain result of a natural process, nor is it established by sexual maturity alone, for its supreme expression is cultural, the result of a demonstrated ability in those activities which are designated male.

Sex relationships are fraught with dangers, and, in the club house, the novice learns that his safety, indeed his survival, depends on having as little as possible to do with women. Boys are normally betrothed by the age of fifteen, but they are seldom permitted to cohabit for at least another six or seven years, and in the intervening period they must avoid their future wives. The latter live with their future husband's mother or the wife of his elder brother, and though they cannot help seeing one another from day to day, a youth is not permitted to enter any house where the girl is present. He cannot sit down with her or eat food cooked by her, and, if they happen to meet along some path, the girl has to stand aside and hide until he has passed. Such rules are said to be necessary because intimacy or close association with women may jeopardise a youth's manhood and his life during this critical stage of his growth. Women will "take away his strength," and, if he does not become a weakling, the loss of vigor which he suffers—his lack of agility, strength, and sharpness of sight—may bring about his death in battle. Intercourse, moreover, possesses a special danger which even physical maturity and cohabitation do not remove.

In common with other Melanesians, the Gahuku-Gama believe that all deaths are caused by sorcery and, most significantly, that women are the principal agents through which a sorcerer works. The most virulent form of sorcery is performed by securing some of a man's semen, mixing it with various leaves and grasses and, placing it in a bamboo, burning it slowly over a fire. Serious illness will inevitably result, and if the sorcerer allows the medicine to be completely consumed, the victim will certainly die. Women obtain a man's semen by persuading him to have intercourse with them, having been previously requested to do so by their male relatives. Youths are therefore warned to refuse any casual offers which may be made to them by members of the opposite sex. More than this,

however, a man's wife is considered to be a potential danger to him, since she has the best opportunity of appropriating some of his semen at the request of a sorcerer. Women do not become members of their husband's clan when they marry. To a certain extent they are always regarded as strangers, particularly in the early years of marriage and before they have borne children. Their closest ties are with their own kin, and men generally believe that they would not refuse a relative who asked them to procure some of their husband's semen. The danger is, of course, greatest where a woman belongs to an enemy group or a group with which there is some hostility. For this reason, women were very rarely captured in warfare; they were usually killed. But danger also exists where a woman belongs to an allied or a friendly group.[36]

The tension and antagonism which these beliefs suggest appear again in the marked instability of marriages. As I have already pointed out, betrothals are frequently broken off, sometimes because a girl reaches maturity sooner than a boy, but more often simply because she does not want to continue with the arrangement, preferring to go back to her parents or to marry another man. There are very few instances where a man is now living with the girl to whom he was originally betrothed by his kinsmen. Out of seventeen lads of from seventeen to twenty in one village, only two seemed likely to settle down with the girls originally chosen for them. Five of them had been betrothed a second time, one a third time and one a fourth, and the remainder were then unattached.[37] Furthermore, even after cohabitation few marriages are permanent.

When a woman leaves a man, he is not expected to be much concerned. The ideal male attitude in cases of desertion or broken betrothals is to accept the situation philosophically. After all, it is said, she is only a woman, and a man should not cry over women; there are many more, and if one is any kind of man it is easy enough to make them desire you and to find a wife. But this is largely rationalization which, in the vast majority of cases, is contradicted by violent reaction and by almost ceaseless litigation. In particular, the instability of sex relationships is the cause of real anxiety to the younger men of the group. A young man cannot become a full adult member of the community unless

36 A man who had broken the rule of clan exogamy and had married his clan sister once justified his action to me by saying he "had to look after his skin." Being his "sister," he explained, his wife would not want to harm him. The man concerned is the most influential member of his group, a renowned warrior and orator. He asserts that there are many men who would like to injure him and who would be pleased if he died, and one of the most violent and protracted arguments I witnessed resulted from a charge of sorcery which he laid against a member of a friendly clan.

37 This is a typical sample from my complete census figures.

and until he has a wife, and he also, above all else, desires children who will inherit his property, care for him in his old age, and who will eventually succeed him. His elders, moreover, continually urge him to find a wife. After two or three broken betrothals he is generally expected to act on his own initiative; the task of finding and choosing a woman is left to him, and he is constantly exhorted to it as a duty. He is expected to marry and settle down, and no one has a high opinion of him if he is unable to do so. On the one hand, therefore, he is required to be unconcerned if his girl deserts him, for concern in such circumstances is unbecoming in a man; but on the other, he is made to feel that marriage is extremely important to him. Courtship thus becomes a serious occupation which is surrounded with hazards. A youth requires a wife in order to participate fully in the life of his group and in order to earn the good opinion of his elders; but several broken betrothals, and the protracted vacillations of the girls whom he courts, make him feel that women are opposed to his aims and deliberately prevent him from obtaining his rights.[38] Indeed, at almost every point he sees his interests jeopardized by members of the opposite sex. Nor is it all plain sailing after cohabitation, for if his wife does not desert him she may still refuse him his rights by not bearing children. Men commonly believe that the advice which a mother gives to her daughter always includes a knowledge of contraception, and that even in the matter of bearing children there is a fundamental opposition between the aims and interests of the sexes.[39]

The institutionalized pattern of Gahuku-Gama sex relationships prescribes a rigid differentiation of roles based on the dominance of men and the submis-

38 A youth who is courting a particular girl visits her at least twice a week at night in her village. He carries gifts to her, and if she accepts them he considers that she regards his suit with favor. But he has to wait until she appoints a day on which she will accompany him back to his own village, and it is also necessary for him to win the approval of her relatives. The girl frequently changes her mind, setting first one date and then another for their elopement, and the negotiations may extend over a period of six to nine months.

39 The male belief that women are afraid of childbirth is confirmed by most members of the opposite sex, and it is worth while noting that a high percentage of marriages are childless. The infant mortality rate is also high, but apart from this there appears to be a considerable variation in fertility among women. Some women have as many as six children; the average, however, is two, and there are many who have not conceived. This last category is surprisingly large, though owing to the practice of abortion and to widespread adoption it is difficult to establish with any exactitude. Since they are largely magical, contraceptive techniques may be discounted as a sufficient cause. The marked variations in the fertility of co-wives in polygynous marriages suggests, furthermore, that women are more often the sterile partners, a fact which could be explained by the absence of any personal hygiene and the consequent risks of vaginal infection. But whatever the cause may be, the incidence of sterility appears to be quite exceptional, and it provides the men with corroborative evidence of an unmistakable and unimpeachable nature.

sion and inferiority of women. Male hegemony is expressed and sustained chiefly through the club house which, with its cult of the sacred flutes and its secret rituals, is the focus of community life. There is, however, only a partial and largely formal realization of the male ideal, for the prevailing tenor of sex relationships is one of insecurity and opposition. Men feel that women challenge their authority and oppose their interests, and, in the face of a threat which may or may not be real, one of their principal concerns is to demonstrate and preserve their superiority. Thus the treatment of adolescence and the formal relationships of husband and wife, prescribing on the one hand a virtual segregation of the sexes and on the other an essential distance, reflect both aspects of their problem. The underlying anxiety, and the tension and antagonism which result, are dominant characteristics of Gahuku-Gama culture.

The social and psychological problems involved in this emphasis on aggression and on sex antagonism need not be examined here; it is obvious, however, that the correlations which are suggested by the Gahuku-Gama material can be verified, extended, and their general significance confirmed only by comparative analysis.[40] To accomplish this, it is possible to turn to cultures where the basic configurations and institutional patterns are radically different; but variations in adjacent cultures in the Highlands offer an important field for comparative treatment. The problem of aggression and sex hostility may, for example, assume an entirely different form in those groups where there is a less rigidly constituted men's organization. Eastwards from Goroka, through Bena-Bena and Kainantu, and in the cultures which lie to the south of Mount Michael, the institutional pattern does not seem to vary greatly, and the men's club house, commanding each settlement, is an ubiquitous index of male dominance. West of Goroka, however, among the Chimbu, and the Wabaga—to mention only two groups—the club house is no longer the focus and the center of ceremonial and group activities, and, correlated with its virtual disappearance as an institution, we may postulate significant variations in the over-all pattern of sex relationships. For the Chimbu Kuman at least—and they are the only group on which there is published information—a less formal emphasis on male hegemony is also suggested by changes in the function and structural position of the cult of the sacred *koa* flutes. Thus, although the *koa* flutes are symbols of male superiority,

40 Not the least important of the problems involved are concerned with social change. Thus, in many parts of the eastern Highlands the precarious balance of sex relationships has been seriously disturbed by the decay and, in some instances, virtual disappearance of the purely male institutions and the prohibition of a wide range of activities through which men formerly demonstrated their superiority.

it is apparent that the cult does not occupy a position comparable to that of the Gahuku *nama*, and that a more widespread system of relationships and group activities is associated with the latter.[41]

Variations in the treatment of adolescence are of more significance, however, for the formation of adult sex attitudes. Among the Gahuku-Gama, the approach of puberty ushers in a period during which a boy is subjected to severe restraints and his manhood becomes the object of continual concern. It is also a period in which many conflicts and resultant anxieties are present. Thus, the teaching he receives emphasizes, firstly, his differential importance to the community, but he also learns that his manhood cannot be left to chance, that it is not the result of a natural process alone but requires constant care and the exercise of vigilance both on his own part and that of his elders. Dangers beset the path to maturity, and most of the threats to his welfare come from the opposite sex. These threats, moreover, are aimed not only at his physical well-being but also at depriving him of his basic social rights. Among the Siane, the Watabung, and the Chimbu, sex relationships appear to be treated with less restraint. In the first place, the men's organization has no permanent center such as that provided by the club house, and the adolescent boys are not segregated for any length of time. Institutionalized sex activities in Chimbu include the *kanggu*, gatherings at which perhaps as many as forty or fifty young couples participate in a promiscuous orgy. Again, the Watabung boy is expected to keep away from women until he has hair on his chest, but the injunction does not appear to be strictly observed and adolescents frequently take part in activities which are similar to the *kanggu*. Among the Siane, finally, bands of boys regularly visit and spend the night with groups of girls in neighboring villages. The unmarried boy is not expected to have intercourse, but there does not seem to be any adult control to ensure that the rule is kept. Sex relationships are relatively free, and the behavior of young people suggests that there is a marked degree of romantic love. These differences, admittedly, do not permit us to proceed very far with comparison; but, at the least, they suggest that important variations exist and that their comparative examination may be highly significant for problems concerned with the psychology of sex relationships. It is to be hoped, too, that such work will be undertaken before contact with Europeans has brought about the disappearance and destruction of many of the relevant institutions and practices.

To the student of social structure, the Highlands offer a range of conditions

41 See Nilles, *The Kuman of Chimbu* (*op. cit.*).

which in many respects are unusual for Melanesia. The density of the populations and the numerical size of the cultural-linguistic groups pose problems of sampling and of method which, characteristically, are not of major concern to the field-worker in other parts of New Guinea; but, in addition, social structures are also more complex: the relevant range of social relationships is more embracing and there is a higher degree of segmentation and internal differentiation, conditions which seem to prescribe an initial direction for all enquiries.[42]

I have pointed out elsewhere that fieldwork in New Guinea in the past has been based primarily on the village or a small number of related villages which together form a socio-political unit.[43] In the areas with which we are most familiar, these small communities, numbering between seventy and seven hundred individuals, are segments of a more inclusive cultural-linguistic whole. Typically, however, cultural unity in Melanesia has only a limited significance. Thus, the possession of a common language and culture seldom implies more than a potential common life; it means a correspondence in forms of behavior and a certain external uniformity which is upheld by tradition, but it does not necessarily involve an embracing system of social relationships. The area of effective social life is small, congruent in most instances with the range of cognatic and affinal kinship bonds. Political ties, which for most purposes are the widest relevant frame of reference, demarcate groups which are synonymous with those which are based on kinship and on direct coöperation; indeed, in the absence of any centralized authority or any specifically political institutions, political identity is indistinguishable from the acceptance of kinship, economic, and ritual norms and obligations, the political systems of New Guinea operating as an essentially self-adjusting coördination between these different systems of relationships. As a result, we find a highly fragmented social pattern. Members of the cultural-linguistic group seldom have any conception of a common identity; each such group, furthermore, comprises a multiplicity of socially distinct, autonomous communities which are characterized by strong internal solidarity and by an external opposition with all other like communities.[44]

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42 Hogbin and Wedgwood also draw attention to the more highly segmented structures of the Highlands. Cf. H. I. Hogbin and C. H. Wedgwood, *Local Grouping in Melanesia* (Oceania, vol. 23, no. 4, 1953), p. 246: "Polysegmentary lineages, in so far as we can tell at present, are characteristic of the thickly populated New Guinea highlands only."

43 Cf. K. E. Read, *Notes on Some Problems of Political Confederation* (South Pacific, vol. 3, no. 12; vol. 4, no. 1, October-November 1949).

44 Cf. Hogbin and Wedgwood, *Local Grouping in Melanesia* (*op. cit.*), p. 252: "In Melanesia there are no tribes; there are only groups of people who speak the same language

Conditions similar to these are also found in the Highlands. Thus, as far as we can tell at present, the fragmented pattern typical of other parts of the country is also characteristic of the region east of Goroka. This is the least densely populated section of the Highlands, and the cultural-linguistic groups are not as large as elsewhere. The possession of the same language and a similar way of life is not, moreover, accompanied by any conception of a common identity in the minds of the members of the cultural-linguistic group. There are no political units larger than the village, which has as its nucleus the male members of a patrilineal clan. Within the clan, there is also a minimum differentiation into a number of linked patrilineages which are not further segmented.

It is unlikely that this pattern is confined to the extreme east; but in some of the larger cultural-linguistic groups to the west, social structures show a considerable advance in complexity. Concepts derived from and adequate for the analysis of structure elsewhere in New Guinea have only a limited utility where these groups are concerned. The fieldworker, moreover, is compelled to adopt a form of investigation which is regional in its scope, the necessity to extend his observations over a larger area being dictated by a marked increase in the total range of intergroup relationships rather than the numerical size of the populations.[45] The social structure of the Gahuku-Gama, for example, is based on a system of relationships between polysegmentary lineages, named sub-clans, clans, and sub-tribes, and, at the highest level of segmentation, on a network of ties and cleavages which relates each tribe to every other tribe in a complex overlapping mesh. In this group, and most likely in the Kuman, Wabaga, and the Mbowamb of Mount Hagen, the investigator is not only faced with an unusual

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(often with differences of dialect) and have a similar culture. . . . Although those included within each group have the same social organization, the same economic life, the same ritual life and the same traditions, they are not politically united, they do not forgather for any corporate activity, they share no religious centres." The authors have suggested that the term phyle might be used to designate such a group in preference to "culture group" or "language group" or, apparently, "cultural-linguistic group." The introduction of new terms may be justified where they fulfil the need for a greater conceptual precision; but since in this case a simple description is all that is required, the new term seems to me to be unwarranted and redundant.

45 In a group such as the Gahuku-Gama, the range of relationships is consistent with a population of greater than average size (approximately 12,000 individuals) living in an open and easily accessible environment. Similar conditions are found in other parts of the country, for example, in the upper Markham Valley; but the structural pattern in this region reveals the fragmentation typical of Melanesia generally. Cf. K. E. Read, *Social Organization in the Markham Valley, New Guinea* (Oceania, vol. 17, no. 2, 1946) and *The Political System of the Ngarawapum* (Oceania, vol. 20, no. 3, 1950).

degree of segmentation but also with the initial difficulty of delimiting and defining the widest relevant social boundaries.[46]

This problem is not, perhaps, of any great significance where there is a marked physical separation between the group selected for study and the communities which surround it, nor where there is, for example, a state organization with readily recognizable political machinery. But it becomes a major difficulty when the investigator is faced with a population of considerable size which lacks any easily distinguished objective criteria of this nature. In the Goroka area, where there are over 20,000 inhabitants, there is no sudden transition from one sharply differentiated social or cultural group to another, but rather a gradual progress through an interconnected series in which different areas of more intense common life appear like a dark shading on a map, the depth of the color gradually diminishing on leaving a particular point, then darkening again as one approaches another. All the groups within this region are noncentralized, that is, there are no persons, offices, or institutions charged with authority over the inhabitants as a whole. The tribe, numbering from 300 to 1,000 members, is the largest group distinguished by a common name and the exercise of force. The question, then, is whether we are to speak of a multitude of societies coextensive with the tribe or whether there is some more inclusive social reality. Since the answer is crucial both for the form of investigation which is required and for determining the nature of these structures, it is worth while turning once again to the Gahuku-Gama.

These people comprise a number of tribes which are contiguously situated in the central section of the Goroka Valley. The tribes are not separated by any great distance nor by geographical barriers; furthermore, they are surrounded by large populations similar to them in language and culture and with whom the Gahuku-Gama maintain extensive relationships. The name Gahuku-Gama has no equivalent in native usage, being a combination of the names of two tribal segments situated to the north and southeast of the area in which the people live. It may be regarded, therefore, as a convenient label to designate, firstly, a series of local groups of population; secondly, a linguistic group, and, lastly a culture. But in my use of the term I also imply a unity of another kind, one which is based on social principles and on a continuum of ties through which these people are more closely bound together than they are with the surrounding groups. The nature of this unity is not embodied in any territorial

46 Present information on the Kuman, the Wabaga, and the Mbowamb tells us practically nothing about the social structure of these peoples. It is likely, however, that the form of society in these western groups is much the same as that of the Gahuku-Gama.

identity, nor in any political unity; but it emerges only through the interpenetrating spheres of language, culture, and organized social life.

Language and culture by themselves do not serve to distinguish the Gahuku-Gama from the peoples who surround them. There are, for example, changes in dialect between the languages of the Gahuku-Gama and their neighbors the Gaha'na, the Juha-Juha, and the Kabijuha; but these variations are no different and no more important than the changes in dialect which occur even within a single tribe. Language, in other words, is both wider and narrower than the tribes of the Gahuku-Gama, and the same may also be said of culture. Thus, the whole of the Goroka Valley may be regarded as a single culture area which includes not only the Gahuku-Gama but also the Juha-Juha, Gaha'na, Kabijuha, the Asaro, and the nearer Bena-Bena peoples as well as several smaller groups. There are again slight variations, mainly in ritual practices, between all these local populations; but, on the whole they are not sufficient to distinguish group from group, for differences of a similar nature occur even between the segments of a sub-tribe. All the tribes of the Gahuku-Gama nevertheless assert that their way of life is the same and is different from that of their neighbors, and, in support of their contention, they cite certain practices of these other people which they consider to be dangerous and, therefore, to be carefully avoided. It follows that the existence of similar forms of organization and of identical traits amongst their neighbors are less important to the centrally situated tribes of the Gahuku-Gama than a few conspicuous differences, and that, conversely, similar differences within them are subordinated to a concept of cultural commonness. Neighboring groups, such as the Asaro and the Bena-Bena and the tribes of his own constellation, thus represent two poles of awareness to the Gahuku-Gama, difference on the one hand and likeness on the other. This is the maximum differentiation observable by the criteria of language and culture.

A macroscopic view of the region in which the tribes are situated thus reveals a number of contiguously situated, culturally identical communities. These communities have no political unity nor any concept of a common territorial inclusiveness. Government is distributed laterally amongst them; all of them are of the same structural type, are autonomous, and are opposed to others by a complex pattern of cleavages. Each, moreover, is subdivided into a number of smaller social units which have closer bonds *inter se* than any of them have with units of the same order which surround them. Social structure, that is, is built up on a segmentary basis. It is the result of common interests and oppositions between genealogical and local groups of equal status. Operating uniformly at different levels, these two principles distinguish a multiplicity of groups which

are of an identical type. Each such group possesses a field of relationships, defined by its internal and external ties, which is specific to it alone and in respect of which it functions independently. At the same time, these groups are progressively associated at higher levels into larger units of an analogous form, the association continuing through zones of increasing amplitude and diminishing integration up to the limits of the system.

To speak of a particular collection of these communities as forming a society cannot imply a rigid separation from other groups within the area. Social and cultural boundaries do not stop short at any point within the region, and relationships extend in all directions beyond it, varying independently of physical proximity or distance. Groups remotely situated yet maintain a wider range of ties with one another than those which are also side by side, and it is only at the extremes of geographical separation that there is any marked coincidence between physical isolation and social or cultural exclusiveness. This is not to deny, however, a territorial basis to Gahuku-Gama structure, for locality is of major importance in defining groups up to and including the sub-tribe. Similarly, there is a readily distinguishable spatial patterning of intertribal relationships.

The spatial positioning of the sub-tribes concerned, and the location of neighboring peoples, may be represented on the accompanying map (Fig. 4), and it is clear that the area indicated could be labelled as Gahuku-Gama territory. At the same time, the tribes within it have no inclusive rights to it and there is no name which may be used in referring to it as a whole. Local subdivisions are indicated by the names of the principal sub-tribes. A man of the sub-tribe Nagamidzuha, for example, points to the north (*wozani*) to the land (*mikasi*) of the Gahuku (*wozani Gahuku mikasi noive*), to the south to the land of the Gama (*omane Gama mikasi noive*), and to the west to the land of the Uheto (*imane Uheto mikasi noive*). Similarly, his own locality is *Nagamidzuha mikasi*, the land of Nagamidzuha.

The area which is made up of these subdivisions has, nevertheless, an ascertainable reality to every adult. The names and the location of the major groups within it are known to all, whereas knowledge of tribes and territorial relationships outside it is limited. To the west of the Asaro River there are simply "the Asaro," and "the Kofena," while to the east of Seu've the whole region is referred to as Bena-Bena. More detailed descriptions can be obtained from individuals whose social ties with groups in any of these directions have led to personal familiarity with local conditions; but even so, knowledge is confined to specific localities.

This qualification necessarily applies in part to the total area inhabited by

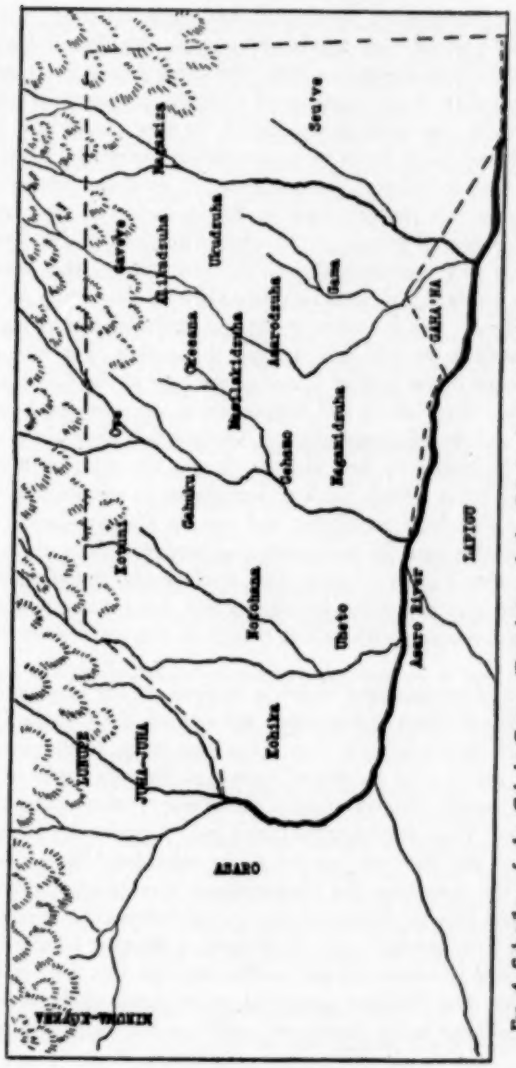

FIG. 4. Sub-tribes of the Gahuku-Gama. (Boundaries of the Gahuku-Gama cultural-linguistic group shown by broken line; Gahuku-Gama sub-tribes in capitals and small letters; other peoples in capitals.)

the Gahuku-Gama. Every adult, for example, has an exact knowledge of his clan territory and only a slightly less detailed familiarity with that of his sub-tribe. But where political cleavages separate tribe from tribe, knowledge is mainly confined to the names of the major segments of the opposed groups. The significant fact, however, is that for every group, indeed for every individual, the whole area may be mapped out in terms of various interrelationships. From whatever point we choose to start within it, the continuum of social ties spreads outwards, uniting some groups in a common bond on the one hand and opposing them to a different combination of groups on the other. Conceived in this manner, it is apparent that the area presents a slightly different pattern when viewed from different groups within it, the variations depending on the system of identifications and oppositions. But for every group the territorial positioning of tribes and tribal segments is overlaid with a social significance. The man of Nagamidzuha who points to the land of Uheto or the land of the Gama may at the same time explain that Uheto and Nagamidzuha are enemies (*rovave*), but that the Gama and the Nagamidzuha are "one people" (*ha'makoko ve none*); or again, that Nagamidzuha and Gahuku fought one another, but that the Kotune are regarded as friends. Such an explanation is not required by anyone who is familiar with local conditions, and for the Gahuku-Gama, who grow up within the social system, the positioning and naming of the various tribes and sub-tribes inevitably implies common ties or cleavages, inclusive interests or oppositions, friendship or enmity. In other words, every group within the area is in some respect related to the others, though in varying degrees of closeness and directness.

It is this social configuration which is imposed on the observable facts of territorial contiguity which characterizes the area of the Gahuku-Gama as a whole and which distinguishes it from other like areas. Every group has ties which lead out and beyond the central section of the valley, and to the extent that these bring together different peoples, the totality of its relationships is unique for every segment. Thus, the sub-tribes Gama and Nagamidzuha acknowledge an inclusive identity and both are opposed to the sub-tribes Uheto, Gahuku, and Notohana. At the same time, the Nagamidzuha have common bonds with the distant Lo'za and Heu've, but there are no ties between the Gama and these people. Indeed, if we proceed with the analysis, a different totality of relationships is maintained by every clan and smaller segment. But there is also a common range within these different aggregates, and it is this which unites the tribes of the Gahuku-Gama more closely one with another than with neighboring peoples.

The character of Gahuku-Gama society results from this continuum of ties and oppositions between adjoining tribes and tribal segments. The reality to which the name corresponds may be defined as a socio-geographic region, an area with ascertainable boundaries which contains a number of territorially exclusive but spatially related groups which are more closely knit together by a common range in their relationships than any of them are bound to groups in similar surrounding regions. Such a socio-geographic region is simply the widest relevant frame of reference in a more inclusive continuum which extends throughout the valley and beyond it. The unity which distinguishes the communities within it is unity in respect of a common range in the aggregate of their relationships. It does not include the totality of ties which are maintained by any segment, nor by the communities as a whole, but it is relatively the widest range common to them all. Membership in Gahuku-Gama society means that a particular group comes within this range; non-membership in the society means to be outside it, or rather to lie within another.

This unity emerges ultimately from the complex pattern of tribal oppositions. Stated briefly, it lies in the presence of warfare on the one hand and in its absence on the other. The nature of the paradox which has to be considered is that the regularity and expectancy of warfare between the social elements within the region constitutes the crucial range in the relationships. Warfare, in other words, is that activity which characterizes the tribes of the Gahuku-Gama as a whole and which differentiates them from groups in other socio-geographic regions.

The tribe is the largest group within which warfare is forbidden. Its members speak of themselves as "one kind" or "one people" (*ha'makoko ve none*), and they recognize a common name which is usually a compound formed from the names of two principal sub-tribes. A common origin is also sometimes claimed for the tribe as a whole, but in most cases its members show little interest in the matter; they consider it a likely possibility, but something which, after all, is largely speculation. The prohibition on warfare is thus the principal index of tribal unity. Segments of the same tribe did not make war on one another, and, conversely, they were traditional enemies with other tribes whose members it was not only justifiable but also commendable to kill. The tribe is therefore essentially a political group, combining, as far as possible for attack and for the defence of its settlements.

Fighting frequently took place within the tribe, but it is necessary to distinguish between warfare proper (*rova*) and fighting which occurs as an accepted form of redress. The latter is known as *hina* and is controlled by definite rules

and by the principle that it should be terminated amicably, perhaps by the payment of blood money, when satisfaction has been achieved. *Hina* normally took place as a reaction to certain wrongs committed between sub-tribes or between smaller segments of different but friendly tribes. Similar breaches within the sub-tribe did not result in *hina*. The presence or absence of the institution thus enables us to distinguish three different levels or zones of integration, the first corresponding to the sub-tribe and its segments wherein the moral ideals which accompany a closely knit common life theoretically prohibit the use of force. The organized permissive use of force in *hina* characterizes the integration of groups larger than the sub-tribe. At this structural level, the common life of the group is based on a narrower range of interests. Correspondingly, the major segments possess a greater degree of autonomy, and, when breaches occur, *hina* takes the place of the largely self-adjusting processes which operate in similar circumstances at the lower level. The use of force, however, is still regarded as a temporary expedient. It is controlled by the belief that the groups concerned are "one people" and that a permanent breach in their relationships is not permissible. Finally, the absence of *hina* is the criterion of intertribal relationships. At this level the area of common life is so attenuated that opposition is almost complete and the organized force of *rova* is the only conceivable permanent relationship.

In contrast to *hina*, there is no idea that *rova* should be concluded. Indeed, *rova* is conceived of as something which continues indefinitely, something which is never lost. The pattern of identifications and oppositions which result from *hina* and *rova* is demonstrated in Figure 5, and it will be seen that each sub-tribe is a focal unit in a continuum of these relationships which extends from one end of the central section of the valley to the other. Alliances which were contracted as a matter of political expediency resulted in little more than a temporary shift in the pattern. There was never a permanent alteration, for the tribal bond remained constant, and intertribal pacts were at the most designed to secure a temporary advantage.

But were this all that could be said it would not be possible to distinguish a group larger than the tribe. The significance of warfare as a relationship lies in the fact that except to a very minor extent it did not occur between the Gahuku-Gama groups and any of their neighbors, though the majority of surrounding peoples were easily accessible. *Rova* is thus of critical importance in differentiating one socio-geographic region from another. Starting from any point within the central section of the valley and tracing out all the possible interconnections which result from warfare, a particular totality of groups emerges. As a whole, these groups are characterized by the fact that warfare is a regularly

expected recurring activity between them whilst, broadly speaking, it is not regarded with the same possibility outside the area. Warfare, in other words, is not only crucial in defining the relationships of tribal segments, but it is also a form of coördinated activity which differentiates the Gahuku-Gama as a whole, as opposed to those known outsiders with whom it did not occur. Considered by

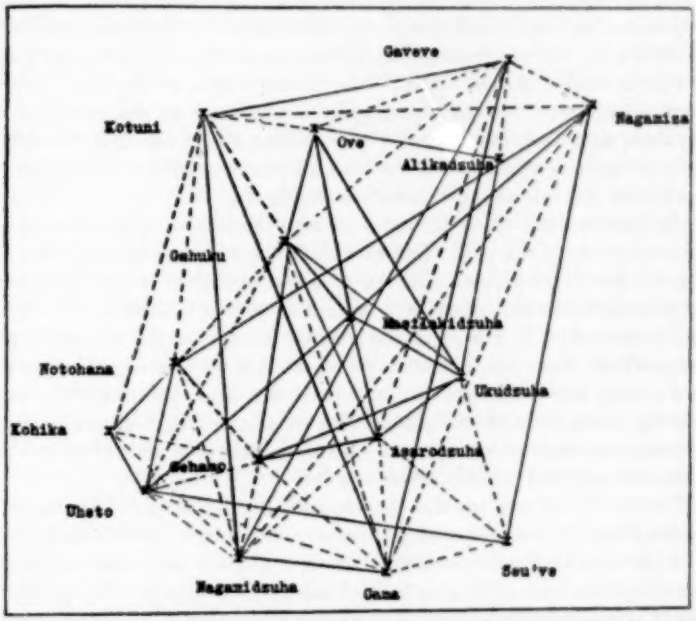

FIG. 5. Diagram of political ties and oppositions between Gahuku-Gama sub-tribes. (Political ties shown by solid lines, oppositions by broken lines.)

any other criteria alone, the same totality of social groups does not appear. Culture and language are both wider and narrower than the tribes of the Gahuku-Gama, and social relationships of different kinds exist between their component elements and the majority of groups in other areas. But *rova* enables us to distinguish a social aggregate which is relatively unique. It constitutes the widest common range in the more inclusive continuum, delimiting an area of common life in respect of which a particular constellation of communities are more closely interconnected one with another than they are with other groups. Gahuku-Gama

society is defined by this common range. Its essential characteristic is the acceptance and expectation of warfare by the groups within it as contrasted with the absence of *rova* outside it.

It is necessary to note, however, that peripheral warfare did occur and that *rova* itself does not define a group which is wholly unique. The Gahuku-Gama Uheto, for example, are hereditary enemies of the Nagamidzuha, the Gama, the Gehamo, and the Gahuku, and with their allies the Notohana, the Kohika, and the Seu've, they continually fought these people. But the Uheto also fought sporadically with a number of the Asaro tribes. Similarly, the Seu've, on the eastern boundary of the socio-geographic region, had enemies among a few Bena-Bena groups. A definition of Gahuku-Gama society which is couched primarily in terms of warfare must therefore take account of these exceptions, but we may add that it is not appreciably affected by them.

The relationships which are based on *rova* describe, as it were, a series of circles on a map of the valley. One such circle is centered on the area where the tribes of the Gahuku-Gama live, but it is surrounded by other circles whose circumferences intersect with it at a number of points. Traversing the valley in any direction, there is thus a gradual progress through a series of social regions distinguishable from one another to the extent that warfare is planfully coördinated activity between the groups within them. But one is not completely isolated from the other, for each tends to shade over to the next. Communities which are inside the areas where any two such circles intersect are therefore wholly within one range and partially within another.

To sum up, we may say that the unity which characterizes the tribes of the Gahuku-Gama is that of a socio-geographic region which contains an aggregate of people who have more essential features in common and closer ties *inter se* than they have with groups in similar surrounding regions. The group thus defined is not absolute or static, but relative and dynamic. There is, it is true, some arbitrariness in the boundaries selected, but owing to the complex social pattern this is unavoidable. Gahuku-Gama social groups can only be defined in relative terms, in terms, that is, of some crucial activity in respect of which their members are more closely interrelated amongst themselves than they are with other groups, and this applies not only to the tribes as a whole but also to every segment of whatever order. Throughout the area, there is, as it were, a gradual progress through zones of more or less intense common life, but there is not a rigid separation of one group from another. *Rova,* in conjunction with the criteria of language and culture, simply defines the relatively widest range in a more inclusive continuum.

It is not possible to give further consideration to Gahuku-Gama social structure in this paper; I have indicated, however, that while the form of the society retains many features which are characteristically Melanesian, it also reveals a number of interesting differences, particularly in the high degree of segmentation and the widespread system of intergroup relationships. The available evidence suggests that this system is itself the result of complementary processes of fission and fusion, and that over a period of time there has been a general tendency towards confederation, towards the gradual extension of political boundaries and the establishment of larger effective social units. The tribe as it exists today may well be regarded in this light; but the processes may also be observed within the segments of the sub-tribe. There is, moreover, a demonstrable consistency between these processes and the fundamental insecurity suggested by the main cultural emphases. The survival of each group depended, to a large extent, on the ability of its members to maintain an essential balance in their political relationships; indeed, the Gahuku-Gama express their problem succinctly when they say "the people in the center cannot live," the group, that is, which is surrounded by enemies faces extinction. The extremely confused, continually shifting pattern of temporary alliances is one answer to political necessity; traditional intertribal friendships are another, and the bonds between the major segments of the tribe represent, at present, the effective limit of confederation.

Whether the structures of the larger western cultural-linguistic groups are similar in nature to that of the Gahuku-Gama remains a matter for investigation; but there is a strong presumption that they are no less complex and no more amenable to the comparatively small-scale form of enquiry which has proved adequate elsewhere. The necessity to consider each region as a social whole does not derive solely, nor even mainly from the vastly larger populations of the Highlands, though this in itself gives rise to a number of problems; but the scale of social life is such that it cannot be treated adequately by any less comprehensive approach. An analysis in terms of socio-geographic regions stresses, moreover, the relative and dynamic nature of social structure, qualities which are characteristic not only of relationships at the intertribal level but also of those between each smaller segment.

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TYPES OF PASTORAL NOMADISM IN CENTRAL AND SOUTHWEST ASIA

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THE ASSUMPTION is often made—this writer was guilty of it in an earlier paper[1]—that pastoral nomadism in Central and in Southwest Asia are of the same type. There are many similarities, some functional to the pastoral nomadic way of life, some due to historical relationship. But there are also differences; the types of nomadism now found would seem to be the result of different though related origins. Since nomads leave few remains for the archaeologist to study, and the Asian pastoralists were late in acquiring writing, any attempt to reconstruct the development of Asiatic pastoral nomadism in its varying aspects must necessarily be inferential, and to some extent speculative. A bringing together of available data may, however, suggest lines for further investigation.

PASTORAL NOMADISM IN RECENT TIMES

Southwest Asia

In the Arabic sphere of Southwest Asia there appear to be several different types of pastoral nomadism.

(1) By far the best known of the Arab nomads are the camel-breeding Bedouins who occupy the interior of the Arabian peninsula, southern Syria, and Iraq. The camel provides an important part of their food and transportation; it is their ceremonial and sacrificial animal, and permits them to move into desert areas where other livestock could not long survive. The Bedouins also take great pride in their riding mares, which, few in numbers and ill-suited to the habitat, are kept for prestige and for the mobility they provide at the height of a raid. The Bedouins are fighting tribes, "people of the lance," and regard themselves as the aristocrats of Arabia, guarding their own genealogies as carefully as those of their mares. They are Sunni in religion, insofar as they follow Muslim practice. They cultivate no crops.

(2) In the Tigris-Euphrates plains and in Syria there are shepherd tribes who breed only sheep and goats, using donkeys, or occasionally a camel, to

1 Bacon, 1946.

transport their tents. These shepherd tribes migrate within a limited sphere, and never move far from the river. In addition to their own animals, they herd, during the winter months, the flocks of townspeople and of Bedouin tribes who have followed their camels onto the desert. The shepherds, as contrasted with the Bedouins, are peaceful folk who frequently pay tribute to some Bedouin tribe for protection.[2] They are in many cases Shiia in religion.

(3) Also along the Tigris-Euphrates rivers there are some tribes who raise cattle and water-buffaloes. Their orbit of migration is even more restricted than that of the shepherds. They dwell in huts of brush or reed rather than in tents, and at least some of the cattle breeders practice agriculture. Like the shepherds, they are peaceful folk.[3]

These Mesopotamian cattle breeders may or may not be culturally related to the cattle-breeding Gara of Dhofar described by Coon.[4] Too little is available on the Mesopotamian tribes to permit a systematic comparison.

(4) Around the fringe of the central region of Arabia are many tribes whose cultures appear to be transitional between those of shepherd and camel-breeder and between nomad and villager. Although there is variation, characteristically these tribes appear to keep sheep and goats, and some cattle and camels. They cultivate a few crops. In many cases the adoption of agriculture is so recent that there can be no doubt of their true nomadic origin.[5] In some cases along the western edge of the desert, however, the mixed economy may be very old. Some tribes live in black tents the year around, planting a few crops before setting off on the seasonal migration; some dwell in mat-covered huts. For these tribes the migratory circuit is restricted in scope.[6]

The Agheyl or Aqail, caravaneers or camel-traders, should not be classed as nomads since their homes are maintained in Baghdad and other cities while the men travel on their business.[7]

(5) One other nomadic group to be mentioned in the Arabic sphere is that of the Sleyb or Sulubba. They are desert hunters, living in tents and wearing

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2 Blunt, pp. 72, 156, 162, 166-167, 170, 185, 213, 377-378, 380-384; Dickson, pp. 108-109, 545-551; Doughty, vol. 1, p. 78.

3 Blunt, pp. 78, 122, 125, 177, 367, 381, 383; Dickson, p. 551.

4 Coon, 1943, pp. 209-217.

5 Ashkenazi, 1938, pp. 3-4; Jaussen, pp. 238-242.

6 Ashkenazi, 1948b; Doughty, vol. 1, pp. 68, 78, 84-85; Thesiger, p. 190; Musil, pp. 44-45. See also Feilberg, pp. 32-33, for this type of nomadism in North Africa.

7 Blunt, p. 112; Dickson, pp. 112, 608.

clothes made of gazelle skin. They breed a kind of ass, and act as guides, tinkers, tattooers, and prostitutes to neighboring nomads.[8]

Perhaps the most significant characteristic common to these several types of nomads is the pattern of symbiosis which ties them to the larger society of the Arab world. The true nomads, who raise no crops themselves, are dependent on sedentary neighbors for agricultural products as well as for processed commodities, as the sedentary folk are dependent on the nomads for reciprocal goods and services. The seminomads, who raise some crops, are potentially self-sufficient, but since they live in proximity to aggressive camel-breeders and to townsmen, they are brought into the symbiotic pattern.

To discover what other characteristics are shared by these several types would require a detailed comparative analysis. This in itself would seem to call for more field work. Except for the camel nomads of the desert there is surprisingly little ethnographic data available on the Arab pastoralists. Yet to arrive at an understanding of the difference between Arab and Central Asian nomadism the first step would appear to be an understanding of Arab nomadism in its several aspects.

Central Asia

In Central Asia (excluding Tibet) only one type of nomadism is to be found, although there are variations in detail according to the influence of sedentary neighbors on the periphery.

The Central Asian steppe pastoralists are multi-animal, breeding sheep, goats, cattle, and a few Bactrian camels for transport purposes. The prestige and ceremonial animal, the symbol of wealth, and the focal point of Central Asian pastoralism, is the horse. The Central Asians scorn agriculture and engage in it only when on the borders of agricultural people and under severe economic pressure. Such goods as they obtain in trade are usually luxury items; economically they are self-sufficient, able to subsist indefinitely on milk products and meat, with clothing, shelter, and equipment derived chiefly from animal products. The symbiosis between the steppe and the sown which is characteristic of Southwest Asia does not appear to be present in Central Asia.

The Central Asian steppe nomads differ in many respects from those of Southwest Asia. Yet the Central Asian culture must to some extent be historically related to that of Southwest Asia. The same animals are to be found, and no

8 Glubb, pp. 14-16; Blunt, pp. 325-327, 384; Doughty, vol. 1, pp. 49, 324-328; Dickson, pp. 515-520. Dickson distinguishes between Sleyb and Kaulikyah or gypsies, while Blunt describes the Sleyb as being gypsy-like; Doughty reports that some of the Sleyb are called by the Arabs el-Khlua, others el-Ghrûnemy, and that the two groups do not intermarry.

one would suggest that these were domesticated independently in the two areas. Let us see what we can infer or surmise concerning the historical development of these several pastoral nomadic cultures.

HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

Southwest Asia

In the Neolithic sites of Southwest Asia among the first remains of domesticated animals found are those of sheep and goats.[9] It would appear that Neolithic men, when they first began to control sources of food, planted a few crops and raised some sheep and goats, supplementing this simple food production with hunting. In course of time they improved their skill in agriculture and in sheep-breeding to the point where hunting became subsidiary. Given the grazing habits of sheep, there would also come a time when a community would have to decide whether to concentrate on agriculture or on sheep-breeding. For in a small community with limited fields each householder might keep a few sheep, to be sent out beyond the fields to graze each day. But any large flock of sheep requires a considerable territory for grazing. It would seem, then, that at a certain point in the development of technology some communities, presumably those with ample rainfall or facilities for irrigation, specialized in agriculture, and kept only a few sheep, while others moved out onto the grasslands and devoted most of their attention to sheep-breeding, although continuing to raise a few crops.

The domestication of cattle would not have caused any such profound choice. Finding pasture or fodder for the few cattle needed to serve the requirements of a small community is no great problem. It would seem, thus, to have been sheep which gave impetus to the process of specialization between pastoralism and agriculture.

In Mesopotamia the Sumerians early achieved a high degree of occupational specialization, and we read of city states of lower Mesopotamia in the third millennium BC being served by shepherds on the steppes and by dairies not too far from the cities which they served. It is perhaps significant that in modern times tribes specializing in sheep-breeding or cattle-breeding are to be found in lower Mesopotamia, the land of ancient Sumer. Farther away from the twin rivers it seems probable that some shepherd nomads either had cattle from the beginning or added the animal to their stock of sheep and goats without any great change in their way of life.

The domestication of the camel came much later. Our first historical documentation comes in the 11th century BC, when the Midianites from the south

9 Braidwood, p. 64; Coon, 1951b, p. 50.

entered Palestine with their great herds of camels,[10] and in the inscriptions of an Assyrian king who lived from 1115-1074 BC.[11] From the use of the camel as a beast of burden, in analogy to the Egyptian ass—riding camels appear to be much later—and from the present distribution of the camel complex, the camel would appear to have been first employed extensively in the west, specifically in southern Arabia, and from there to have gradually diffused northward.

Coon has suggested that the camel-breeding Bedouins may be derived from a people like the cattle-breeding Gara of the Hadhramaut who, with some agriculture and a few camels for transport, moved north into the desert and were forced to give up both agriculture and cattle.[12] Another possibility is that they evolved from some people like the Qahtani of the Hadhramaut highlands. Today some of them are settled, others seminomadic, and the remainder fully nomadic. The Qahtani are camel-breeders, monopolizing the caravan trade; they are called Bedouin, and they, devoutly and with a feeling of superiority over others, trace their descent from one Ya'bub ibn Qahtan ibn Hud, whose shrine they are said to venerate.[13] Doughty mentions a Muhammedan prophet Hûd, whose numerous graves in the Nejd are revered by Arabs there,[14] and he also writes of a group of Qahtani of Yemen who, fleeing to Nejd, claimed kinship with the Shammar overlord of that territory.[15]

The multi-animal seminomads along the western fringe may well have a core continuum descended from Neolithic or Chalcolithic folk who chose to emphasize herding rather than agriculture, and who in the course of time added cattle and camels to their stock without changing very much their way of life. They might be considered as cultural descendants of the pastoralists described in the early books of the Old Testament.

The Sleyb appear to have evolved from a tribe or tribes on the hunting-collecting level who were drawn into a symbiotic relationship with the camel-breeding nomads and townsmen in Arabia in much the same way as hunting tribes of western India became attached through "criminal" or menial service activities to more firmly fixed caste or community groups. The Bedouins themselves appear to feel that the Sleyb, though low-caste, are ancient inhabitants of the country which they occupy.[16]

10 Judges 6:5; Hitti, p. 22; Albright, p. 206.
11 Coon, 1951a, p. 61.
12 Coon, 1943, p. 211.
13 *Idem*, pp. 205-206.
14 Doughty, vol. 1, p. 49.
15 *Idem*, pp. 51-52.
16 *Idem*, p. 323.

Central Asia

In Central Asia, pastoral nomadism appears to have evolved differently. Lattimore, in 1940, wrote: "There are at least three main origins for the pastoral nomadism of Inner Asia: the edges of the Siberian forests, the edges of the Central Asian oases, and the steppe margins of North China."[17] He suggests that the hunters might first have domesticated reindeer, and that those in the southern woodlands moved to the edge of the Mongolian steppe and there made "a transition from the herding of reindeer to the herding of horses, cattle, and sheep."[18] But, he continues,

> Undoubtedly the main source from which the nomadism of the steppe derived, however, was not hunting and the forest, but agriculture—and agriculture of a particular kind, at the edge of the steppe, practiced by societies that were unable to specialize their agriculture further by migrating toward better terrain, because the better terrain was already occupied by similar but more advanced societies. In fact, it must be assumed that marginal societies were actually being crowded toward the steppe by stronger, more flourishing agricultural groups. Otherwise, there is no impetus to account for the venture into the steppe; and an impetus there must have been, because without it the steppe would look like a poor and even a dangerous environment to a society that had any agriculture at all, even if it also had domesticated animals.[19]

Minns accepts this interpretation,[20] and Kroeber, while not necessarily accepting it, uses it as an argument for his own thesis that pastoralism is a "part-culture" and not a whole culture.[21] Lattimore appears to agree with Kroeber that Central Asian and Southwest Asian pastoral nomadism are of the same kind.[22]

This writer has attempted to demonstrate above that there are differences in nomadic pattern between the two areas, and believes that these include a difference in origin. Whereas Southwest Asian pastoralism appears to have evolved contemporaneously with intensive agriculture as a specialized way of life, Central Asian pastoralism seems to be derived from a Siberian woodland culture.

There are a number of elements in Central Asian pastoral culture which point to Siberia rather than to China or Iran: shamanism, scapulamancy, and a hearth cult; tailored clothing, until recently made of skin. The felt-covered, dome-shaped yurt, quite different from the pavilion-shaped tents of woven cloth

17 Lattimore, 1940, p. 355.
18 *Idem*, p. 327.
19 *Idem*, p. 328.
20 Minns, p. 7.
21 Kroeber, p. 323.
22 Lattimore, 1951, p. xlii.

or the mat-covered huts in Southwest Asia, is of a structure which might more readily have evolved from Siberian forms than from any house forms known to us for the settled areas peripheral to the steppes. Felt might more readily have been invented by people familiar with the use of bark and skins than by those having knowledge of weaving.

It is highly improbable that these woodland hunters first domesticated the reindeer, then, on moving into the steppe, changed to other animals. Laufer has demonstrated that the reindeer could not have been domesticated much before 500 AD, that is, long after the pastoral nomadic complex had been fully developed, and the distribution of the elements associated with reindeer breeding in Siberia, such as riding and milking, strongly suggest that the reindeer was domesticated just north of the steppe, and in imitation of the horse.[23]

How, then, did these woodland hunters obtain the animals which were to become so important to their existence? We suggest that they obtained them in much the same way that the Plains Indians obtained horses from the Spaniards in the New World, by stealing them, or perhaps by hiring out as shepherds to settled people living along the piedmont at the northern edge of the steppe. We have archaeological evidence that horses, cattle, and sheep were present in southern Siberia as early as 2,000 to 1,500 BC.[24] Yet the presence of these domestic animals in itself does not seem to have provided the stimulus needed for the development of the pastoral nomadic complex. This stimulus seems to have come from the invention of horseback riding.

We know that the horse was domesticated somewhere north of the Caucasus mountain axis, and that it was first employed as a draft animal, in imitation of the Mesopotamian use of cattle. Of the peoples who moved south out of Central Asia into the light of history, those appearing in the second millennium BC, such as the Hittites and Indo-Aryans, had horse-drawn chariots, but no cavalry. It was the Medes and Persians, who appeared on the Iranian plateau early in the first millennium BC, who startled the people of Mesopotamia by their use of cavalry. Shortly thereafter the Scythians arrived north of the Black Sea. As described by Herodotus in the 5th century BC they were full-fledged horse-breeding pastoral nomads, although some agriculturists were a part of the Scythian domain.[25] In the east, the first barbarians clearly identifiable as horseback-riding pastoral nomads appear in the Chinese records around 300 BC.[26]

23 Laufer, 1917; Bogoras, 1930.
24 Gaul, pp. 150, 152.
25 Herodotus, Book IV, Chaps. 2, 17, 19, 46, 127.
26 Lattimore, 1940, p. 451; McGovern, p. 101.

This evidence, meagre as it is, suggests that horseback riding pastoral nomadism evolved probably not before 1,000 BC, and somewhere in the western steppe, since both cavalry and horseback riding appeared in Iran and southern Russia several centuries before it did on the Chinese frontier. The pastoral nomadic complex may have been developing to the north even as the Medes and Persians moved south onto the Iranian plateau. The culture, once evolved, must have spread rapidly, for after the Scythians a whole series of pastoral nomadic peoples seethed out of the interior of Central Asia toward the eastern and southern edges where they might be recorded in history.

Since the nomads themselves had no writing until late we can only speculate on what happened. Wissler has pointed out that the introduction of the horse among the Plains Indians did not completely change Plains culture, but simply modified patterns already present among the hunters.[27] Central Asian pastoral culture appears to represent a similar modification of woodland hunting culture, perhaps a more profound modification because the Central Asians received not only the riding horse, but other domesticated animals as well. Once the pattern was set, peripheral cultivators may on occasion have taken up nomadism just as in the New World woodland tribes with a rude digging stick culture moved onto the plains. We believe, however, that in Asia there was for the most part a gradual movement out of the woodlands of different peoples, different not only in name, but in language and physical type. Only for the last such people to turn nomad, the Mongols, do we have any record of the transition. When the Mongols first appear in history, some were woodland hunters, some pastoral nomads.[28] When the father of Chinggis Khan died, leaving a widow with small children, and his followers deserted to another leader, the family retreated not to a village but to the woods, where they eked out a livelihood by hunting and collecting until the sons were grown and able to acquire herds and establish a following.[29] It is this writer's thesis that before the Mongols, the other peoples, such as Turks, Hsiung-nu, and Scythians, made a similar transition from woodland hunting to steppe pastoralism.

COMPARISON

Central Asian pastoral nomadism, unlike that of Southwest Asia, is essentially self-sufficient.[30] It also, in a sense, appears to be less stable.

In Southwest Asia pastoral nomadism, of whatever type, is

27 Wissler, 1914.
28 Vladimirtsov, pp. 39-42, 47-49.
29 Pelliot, pp. 134-135.
30 See Lattimore, 1940, p. 329.

an integral and dynamic part of the culture prevailing in this region. The tribal unit, existing side by side with the agricultural village and the trading city, has . . . in its relationship with them played a role that is as significant to the local culture as those played by the other two.[31]

There may be, and often is, political hostility between steppe and sown, but they are bound together by their mutual dependence. Economically the division between steppe and sown appears from the beginning to represent an adaptation to the peculiarities of the Southwest Asian habitat. Within this area there are regions of great fertility eminently suited to agriculture, interspersed with other regions where cultivation would be difficult if not impossible, but which may be profitably exploited by grazing. Some parts of the area may be utilized in either way, depending on the cultural interests and technological skill of the occupants. In these parts there may be some fluctuation between cultivation and grazing.

Pastoralism, agriculture, and trade thus represent specialization in exploiting the resources of the area. This symbiosis, which makes steppe and sown mutually interdependent, gives pastoralism a stability which has permitted its persistence, near great cities, through several millennia.

In Central Asia pastoralism, perhaps because it is self-sufficient, is essentially antagonistic to the settled way of life. It developed comparatively late as Asiatic history goes, and far from literate urban centers. It provided a means of utilizing the grasslands much more effectively than could hunters and collectors. It also offered a fuller economy than did hunting and collecting in the woodlands, and so attracted woodland peoples out onto the steppe. But the self-sufficiency of the culture was in the long run its weakness. Confronted with sedentary societies, nomadic peoples, to preserve their cultural integrity, destroyed cities and irrigation systems or fled from them. If they remained near "civilization" they were gradually—sometimes rapidly—absorbed into the sedentary way of life of their neighbors.

Only in the south, in Iran and Afghanistan, where the symbiotic pattern appears to have been already present, were Central Asian tribes able to retain a nomadic way of life while living near settled peoples. In the north the civilizations bordering on Central Asia, China, and Russia had no place in their own cultural patterns for pastoral nomads. As they encroached on the periphery of the grasslands the effect was to cause the nomads either to flee or settle. In recent times there has been no place to which they might flee. It is perhaps significant that the only remaining pastoral nomads are those farthest removed from sedentary centers.

31 Tannous, p. 5.

In this study an attempt has been made to bring out certain points of contrast between the pastoral nomadism of Southwest and Central Asia: (1) the apparent diversity of types among the Arabs as compared with the homogeneity of Central Asia; (2) the different cultural origins of nomadism in the two areas; and (3) the symbiosis of Arab pastoralists with the settled population as contrasted with the essential self-sufficiency of Central Asian nomads.

REPLY TO DR PATAI'S "NOMADISM: MIDDLE EASTERN AND CENTRAL ASIAN"[32]

In 1946 this writer, unfamiliar with the cultures of the Arabic sphere of Southwest Asia, was led by certain similarities between Central Asian and Arabic nomadism to assume that they were of the same kind.[33] Shortly thereafter, reading on the Arabic sphere suggested not only that there were some fundamental differences between the nomadisms of the two areas, but that there was more than one type within the Arabic sphere itself.[34] Thus Dr Patai and this writer are in accord on the major premise.

If there is disagreement on detail, this may be at least partly due to the sources of data used. Being unfamiliar with Central Asia, as this writer was with Arabia, Dr Patai turned to the Kazak material in the Human Relations Area File. The reading of extracts withdrawn from context does not tend to give historical perspective. Most of the literature on the Kazaks in western European languages dates from the 19th century, when the Kazaks were subject to outside culture pressures on several borders. As a result of these pressures, Kazak culture was undergoing considerable modification. Consequently it is necessary to know the date and locale of any given statement in order to fit it into meaningful context, and this is difficult to achieve from extracts. This paper is offered in the hope that, through an exchange between Arabic and Central Asian specialists, a clearer understanding of the differences and similarities between the two areas may be arrived at.

First, let us list the points of agreement: (1) Tendency toward specialization in breeding of livestock in the Arabic sphere versus general multi-animal breeding in Central Asia; (2) draped clothing versus tailored; (3) use of pottery and basketry versus wood, bone, and greater use of leather; (4) endogamous tendency versus exogamy; (5) basic differences in religion under the thin Islamic

32 Patai, 1951.

33 Bacon, 1946.

34 As discussed in the foregoing paragraphs. See also Bacon, 1953 for correction of the 1946 paper.

veneer; (6) the black pavilion-like tent versus the dome-shaped yurt. One might add, weaving versus felt.

The horse is certainly the cult animal in Central Asia, as is the camel among the camel-breeding Bedouins. Do the sheep-, goat-, and cattle-breeders in the Arabic sphere have cult practices centered around these animals similar to the camel cult of the camel-breeders? We have encountered no information on this point. Among the weapons listed by Dr Patai one might single out the bow as most characteristic of Central Asia. In the Arabic sphere the lance appears to be the prime weapon of the camel-breeding Bedouins, but not of some of the other pastoralists. Indeed, Lady Anne Blunt uses the presence or absence of the lance as a criterion in characterizing the tribes of Mesopotamia.[35]

This writer uses terms describing types of nomadism in a somewhat different way from Dr Patai. "True" or full nomads are people who dwell the year round in portable dwellings and who practice no agriculture. In this usage sheep-breeders following a restricted orbit in their seasonal migrations may be as much true nomads as camel- or horse-breeders who travel hundreds of miles in the course of their annual migration. "Seminomads" plant a few crops at their base camp before moving out on the seasonal migration, but they normally live in portable or temporary dwellings the year round. "Semisedentary" has the connotation of people who dwell in permanent villages during a part of the year, where they plant crops, and move out in tents only during one season of the year.

This terminology, based on degree of cultivation and permanence of dwelling, has been adopted by the writer in the belief that it may be more widely applicable than the use of terms based on other criteria which may have only regional applicability, and which may, indeed, obscure the nature of pastoral nomadism. For example, the French term *transhumance*, applied usually to semisedentary or seminomadic peoples who move vertically into the mountains during the migratory season, does not appear to have wide applicability since it brings together two principles which are only accidentally found in association. Some of the Kazaks, who are true nomads, move vertically into the mountains when these are conveniently at hand. Some of the tribes of Iran plant crops in their lowland winter quarters before moving into the mountains for the summer. Verticality in migration appears to be a matter of topography and climate, and may be found in association with any of the several kinds of nomadism—full, seminomadic, and semisedentary.

No nomadic group wanders aimlessly and without fixed boundaries. These boundaries may shift, as strong groups push weaker tribes out of their pastures,

35 Blunt, p. 381.

but in general a tribe has a definite territory within which it migrates, and within this, sub-tribal groups may have their well established orbits. The regularity of the migration circuit appears to depend on the fertility of the tribal territory. Among the Altaian Kazaks Rudenko found that the various groups followed a consistent circuit year after year—so many days at one camp, so many at the next. Although different family groups might camp at the same spot at different times, there was no possibility of conflict since the migration schedule was so well ordered by habit that two groups would never arrive simultaneously at the same place.[36] Around the Aral Sea, where the land is arid and grazing limited, camp sites are decided anew at each move, according to the availability of grass, and the first group to arrive at a given spot has the right of usufruct over later comers.

Of the Rwala Bedouins Musil writes: "If there is an abundance of rain, the Rwala are fond of encamping in definite areas during the various seasons."[37] If the Arab tribes have in general a more flexible itinerary than the Altaian Kazaks, the cause would appear to lie in the difference in climate. Because of the scanty and capricious rainfall Arab tribes on occasion move even into the established territory of other tribes in search of the all-important grass,[38] but this is through necessity, not choice.

Dr Patai writes:

> While the Middle Eastern nomads live in their hair tents all the year round, the Central Asian nomads live in their yurts only from April to early November approximately. The remainder of the year is spent in the great majority of cases in permanent winter quarters which in old times were merely more substantially built and reinforced yurts, but which have more recently assumed the shape of solid huts. . . . Thus we recognize that animal husbandry in its pure and unadulterated Middle Eastern form does not exist among the Central Asian steppe peoples who invariably alternate nomadic life with a sedentary period, and supplement their animal husbandry with a modicum of agriculture.[39]

It is true that the Kazaks spend several months of the year in fixed winter quarters, and that a group normally returns to the same winter quarters year after year. Spots well protected from the icy winds which sweep over Central Asia are not numerous, and it would be disastrous if groups moving at random in search of winter quarters were caught on the open steppe by the onset of

36 Rudenko, pp. 4-6, 10.

37 Musil, p. 77. See Ashkenazi, 1948a, p. 234, for map showing summer and winter quarters of the 'Anazah tribes.

38 Jaussen, pp. 239-240; Raswan, pp. 80-83.

39 Patai, p. 407.

winter. Consequently family groups, which have fanned out over a wide area during the summer, come together again in the fall and camp in groups of as many as 1,000 tents in some sheltered river valley over which they have traditionally established rights. Their residence in these large, sprawling camps is imposed by the rigorous climate of Central Asia. How long a group remains in winter camp depends on the latitude.

But in Arabia a similar fixed residence during a part of the year may be imposed by a shortage of water. According to Dickson, tribes of Kuwait and the adjacent part of Sa'udi Arabia are forced by the summer climate to spend up to five months of each year encamped by wells, with each well belonging by traditional right to a specific tribe or sub-tribe.[40]

Thus the fixity of quarters during winter or summer and the length of the stay there, the distance covered in the annual migration—whether vertical or horizontal, a few miles or many, and the regularity of the migration itinerary, all depend largely on topography, climate, and natural resources. Variations dependent on these factors may be found among true nomads in both Central and Southwest Asia.

The Kazaks and other Central Asian tribes occupied the same yurts the year round, just as the Arab tribes do their black tents. Central Asia is an area of climatic extremes, and the yurt is adjustable to seasonal needs. In the heat of summer, the felt covering of the sides may be rolled up to allow a free passage of air, and a reed screen lining installed to assure privacy. In winter the felt coverings are battened down, and a felt lining may be added. This is the "more substantially built and reinforced yurt."

Permanent winter dwellings began to be used only in the 19th century, and then under foreign influence. Rudenko, describing the culture of the Altaian Kazaks in 1927, wrote: "Now the Altaian Kazaks do not live in yurts in winter, but thirty or forty years ago they occupied them the year around."[41] According to his informants, rectangular timbered huts were introduced as winter quarters fifty years before, and some began to use them the year around thirty-five years before.[42]

Levchine, writing in 1832, mentioned the construction of winter shelters or stables for livestock by poor people having close culture contacts with non-Kazak neighbors,[43] and wrote of a few Kazaks in the city states of Turkestan who dwelt

40 Dickson, pp. 250-252.
41 Rudenko, p. 32.
42 *Idem*, p. 34.
43 Levchine, p. 411.

in houses, but added that the number of these is very limited.[44] Elsewhere he made it very clear that most Kazaks dwelt only in tents.[45] In 1885 Lansdell wrote:

> Some of the Kirghese poor in winter live in holes or underground huts, where children and cattle sleep and play together. Others, as a protection against the cold, endeavour to winter in sheltered places, in hollows, or among reeds or sand-dunes. They conceal their kibitkas in the reeds, and throw snow over them, so as to protect them from the winds; but they are now commencing to build permanent winter dwellings, usually of turf plastered with clay, or of stone like the huts of the Caucasian mountaineers; in some places even wooden houses are met with, but these have belonged, for the most part, to former sultans.[46]

By this time a number of Kazaks built "rough sheds of wattle and daub for their cattle in winter,"[47] a practice which was rare in Levchine's day. Radloff, in a general description of the Kazaks and their culture, first published in 1884, described only the dome-shaped felt-covered yurt as the characteristic dwelling of the Kazaks.[48] Karutz, writing of the Kazak of the Mangyschlak Peninsula in 1911, describes only the traditional yurt, and mentions shelters for young or sick cattle as rare.[49] When this writer visited Kazakstan in 1934 the Kazaks of the Aral Sea region still lived in their felt-covered tents the year round, in spite of political upheavals which had cut off their former summer pastures, and concerted efforts of Soviet administrators to settle them.

The evidence seems conclusive that the Kazaks were tent dwellers, and that stationary winter dwellings were late acquisitions adopted under the influence of sedentary neighbors.

In regard to agriculture, Central Asian pastoral economy appears to have been quite independent of the products of cultivation. Nomads with sedentary neighbors were not loathe to obtain agricultural products by conquest, raids, or trade, and with less enthusiasm poor nomads who had lost their animals were often drawn into the orbit of peasant neighbors, but essentially the pastoralists could and did survive indefinitely without any cultivation.

For the Kazaks, whom Dr Patai has cited and with whom this writer happens to be familiar, agriculture, like permanent dwellings, appears to have been introduced during the 18th and 19th centuries. Levchine, writing in the early 19th century, reported that irrigation by means of reservoirs and ditches and water

44 *Idem*, pp. 312-313.
45 *Idem*, pp. 305-306, 311-312.
46 Lansdell, vol. 1, pp. 310-311.
47 *Idem*, vol. 1, p. 319.
48 Radloff, vol. 1, pp. 457-458.
49 Karutz, pp. 66-70.

wheels was found only in the south, under the influence of Tashkent or Bokhara.[50] In general, Levchine wrote,

> Le labourage n'occupe aujourd'hui chez eux qu'un très-petit nombre d'individus. Les principales cultures se trouvent sur les bords des fleuves, rivières et lacs. . . . Elles ont été établies depuis peu, et la plupart par des gens pauvres, qui n'avaient pas assez de bétail pour en tirer leur subsistance. . . .[51]

Levchine does point out that in the southern part of the Great Orda (along the Ili River?) a considerable number of Kazaks planted crops, particularly millet, and migrated in the vicinity of their fields until harvest time, after which they moved into other territory.[52] The location of these semi-nomads, together with the millet, suggests Chinese influence. Elsewhere Levchine wrote that a few Kazaks, especially those nearest the Russian frontier, gathered some fodder for their animals in the fall.[53]

Radloff, for a later date, wrote that, since cultivation of the fields interfered with the summer migration, only rich people who could afford to hire workers engaged in agriculture to any extent.[54]

Lansdell, as of 1885, noted that the Kazaks of Semipalatinsk region had "learnt from the Chinese how to irrigate the land by damming up the mountain streams and drawing off the water in the canals."[55] In the same province Cossacks were reported to raise hay for sale to the towns and to the Kazaks.[56] Elsewhere Lansdell wrote:

> In the province of Semipalatinsk, in 1881, the agriculturists were nominally 16,956, that is 15 per cent. of the Kirghese population, but really far less, since that number includes not only those immediately engaged in cultivation, but those also who help in harvest, even to the extent of advancing on loan money or seed![57]

In Semirechie province Lansdell reported that "necessity has compelled some [nomads], and opportunity induced others, in certain places to cultivate wheat, barley, and millet. . . ."[58]

Finally,

> The Kirghese are essentially a nation of shepherds and breeders of cattle, and think it a "comedown" in life when, by force of circumstances, they are compelled

50 Levchine, pp. 413-414.
51 *Idem*, p. 413.
52 *Loc. cit.*
53 Levchine, p. 312.
54 Radloff, p. 465.
55 Lansdell, vol. 1, p. 98.
56 *Idem*, vol. 1, p. 100.
57 *Idem*, vol. 1, p. 315, footnote.
58 *Idem*, vol. 1, p. 164.

to resort to settled occupations. In such an extremity they settle near towns or villages, let themselves out for labourers, as in the Kalbinsk and Altai mines, or flock to the peasant villages in haytime and harvest, where they are in request as cheap and energetic workmen, one result of which is that in a generation or two they become civilized, dress like Russians, and call themselves Christians. Others turn their attention to agriculture. These poorer Kirghese are called *Iginchas*, and may be said to form the settled element of the Kirghese population.[59]

In 1911, among the Kazak of the Mangyschlak Peninsula, Karutz reported that only the poor practiced agriculture in a limited way,[60] and in 1934 this writer was informed by Kazak scientists that the tribes of the Aral Sea region were being taught to raise fodder as a preliminary step toward the establishment of cattle-breeding collectives.

Both Lansdell and Radloff point out that the steppe terrain and climate are not suited to agriculture unless irrigation systems are developed.[61] Such irrigation systems as were found among the Kazak in the 19th century were obviously the result of Iranian or Chinese influence.

The characteristic diet of the Kazaks is not that of even quasi-agriculturists: milk products and meat. Only on the fringe do we find additions of grain. Levchine, writing in 1832, reported that the Kazaks obtained all their food from their herds, in the form of milk products and meat, although those who had taken up agriculture or had some trade with agricultural neighbors made a kind of millet gruel. Rich people might occasionally eat rice as a delicacy.[62] Lansdell commented on the small amount of grain eaten by the Kazaks in 1880,[63] and Radloff, in an account of food and its preparation, lists only a few uses of grain. In the south he saw roasted meal or roasted millet taken with kumys, but said that this usage was rare even in that area.[64] Elsewhere he found various kinds of meal or grain in *airan* made of cow's milk.[65] These grain and *airan* foods are listed at the end of the section on the use of cow's milk, indicating that they held a minor place in the diet. It is also suggestive that the grain should be used chiefly with the milk of cattle rather than of other animals. The Kazaks raised few cattle until the 19th century, when the demands of the Russian market caused a shift away from horses and sheep toward cattle, and when the Kazaks were beginning to practice some agriculture.

59 *Idem*, vol. 1, pp. 314-315.
60 Karutz, p. 46.
61 Lansdell, vol. 1, pp. 98-99, 101; Radloff, vol. 1, p. 463.
62 Levchine, p. 321.
63 Lansdell, vol. 1, p. 338.
64 Radloff, vol. 1, p. 451.
65 *Idem*, p. 439.

The evidence appears to indicate that before the Kazaks were forced to give up nomadism by the encroachment of sedentary neighbors, they were true pastoral nomads, living the year around in portable dwellings, practicing no agriculture, not even cutting fodder for the winter use of their animals, and independent of agriculturists for supplementary food. The steppe climate is not suited to cultivation; even in the 19th century it was undertaken chiefly along rivers and lakes, where irrigation was possible. Caring for crops interferes with the nomadic cycle; agriculture was first taken up by poor Kazaks who had no horses to carry them on their seasonal rounds, or by rich Kazaks who could afford to hire workers to care for the fields. It is perhaps relevant that in Arabia agriculture is practiced by the sheep- or cattle-breeders, not by the camel nomads who traverse a wider circuit. But whereas the circuit of the Arab camel-breeders brings them regularly within reach of settled communities, the Central Asian steppes had few settled communities until the period of Russian expansion. In the east the Mongols came into contact with agricultural Chinese, in the west with the Iranian culture of Turkestan. In Siberia there were only hunters and reindeer-breeders, and within the steppe itself, only a thin chain of caravansarai towns supporting the trade routes between east and west. Thus only along the eastern and southern fringe was there opportunity to become dependent on the sown.

In social structure the similarities between Central Asia and the Arab sphere appear to be much greater than the Central Asian material available to Dr Patai would indicate. In both areas the structural pattern is that which this writer calls "tribal genealogical" or *oboq*, which has been analyzed in some detail both for Kazaks and for Arab tribes in a monograph now being prepared for publication.

A characteristic of *oboq* structure is that a society having this structure may be either endogamous in tendency, or exogamous, or shift from one to the other without any disturbance to the structure. (In all examples found to date, the shift has been from exogamy to endogamous tendency, under the influence of Islam, or in the gradual genealogical lowering of the exogamic bar.) The exogamy of Central Asia and the endogamy of the Arabic sphere do not seem to create any profound differences in the structure and functioning of the family in the two areas. The only difference between the two areas, as far as this writer can see, is that the Central Asian woman is taken much farther from her kin when she marries than the Arab woman. However, although among at least some of the Arabs the father's brother's son has absolute prior right over his cousin, the literature indicates a certain amount of marriage even across tribal lines.

The family in the two areas seems very similar. Among the Kazaks, the family is a joint one, owning productive property in common, with the head of the family, usually the father, administering it. As each child marries, he or she receives his or her share of the family property. The son receives his in the form of bride-price for his wife, and in livestock, and normally sets up his tent beside that of his father and migrates with the family group. The daughter receives hers in the form of tent, household goods for the new establishment, and perhaps some livestock. She takes up residence in the encampment of her husband. The youngest son, on his marriage, receives only a bride-price from what remains of the family estate. He and his wife reside in the parental yurt, and inherit what remains of livestock on the death of the father. Should the mother survive, he will support her. If the father dies before all the children are married, the eldest son administers the family property, supporting unmarried siblings and paying out bride-price and dowry as each marries. If a man dies while his children are still minors, a brother will administer the property until the children come of age.

The Arab family, as described by Jaussen and others, differs from that of the Kazaks only in certain details. A daughter does not share in the family property, since she receives no dowry from her family—this is provided by the groom—and she does not inherit. When sons marry, the eldest one usually brings his bride to the paternal tent, and other sons may also continue to dwell there after marriage. (Among the Hazara Mongols, cultural cousins of the Kazaks, the eldest son remains at home, and it is younger sons who leave if there is not sufficient land to support all.) A son may, however, claim his share of the family property on marriage and set up his own tent. For those who remain in the paternal tent the property is divided when the extended family household breaks up, whether at the death of the father or later.[66] Other than these, Arab and Kazak families seem remarkably similar both in structure and in function.

The Kazak eldest son does not secede from the family fold, as Dr Patai supposes. The Kazak yurt is essentially a one-family dwelling, although it can on occasion accommodate two nuclear families, as when the youngest son brings his wife to live in the paternal yurt. It is the camp—the summer camp—which constitutes the extended family. A son, on marriage, sets up his own yurt near that of his father, and continues to migrate and participate in the communal life of his father's extended family group. Only when this group has become so large that its animals cannot be satisfactorily pastured from one camp site does a son break away and set up his own camp. A man wealthy in animals might have several camps.

66 Jaussen, pp. 11-22.

The Arab tent appears to be more amenable to extended family life, but, according to Jaussen, a son may, on marriage, request a separate tent and his share of the family property, and his father will recognize his traditional right to this request and grant it.[67]

Dr Patai writes:

> If the grandfather dies, the extended family breaks up into as many new units as there are sons. In the Middle Eastern extended family, therefore, all the male members are lineal descendants of the actual head of the family. The entire extended family resides together, camps together in one cluster of tents. . . .
>
> In Central Asia the family shows a similar structure, but here upon the death of the original family head the family does not break up into new units headed by his sons, but remains together and the headship is assumed by the eldest surviving brother.[68]

Actually, in both cases, as long as the sons camp together, the extended family is under the leadership of the eldest male of the line, whether father or eldest brother. Among the Kazaks, division of family property is made as each son marries; among the Arabs, according to Jaussen,[69] this is not necessarily the case. This writer has encountered several instances in the Arab sphere where all the male members were not lineal descendants of the actual head of the family. Jaussen cites a case of four brothers, married and fathers of numerous children, who continued to dwell together after the death of their father under the direction of the eldest brother.[70] Lady Anne Blunt describes the household of Faris, Sheikh of the Shammar, as composed of his mother, his second wife, the children of his first wife, and those of his two dead brothers.[71] Turning back to the Biblical Hebrews, Lot, on the death of his father, was taken into the family of his father's brother Abram, and remained there until their flocks became too numerous for the grazing facilities of a single encampment.[72]

This writer must rise to defend the honor of Kazak women. On this subject the Human Relations Area File not only is unrepresentative in coverage, but also must have allowed the infiltration of some Cossack data.[73] Among the Kazaks as among the Arabs, virginity until marriage is regarded as essential. In societies in which genealogical patrilineal descent is all important, it is vital

67 *Idem*, p. 21.
68 Patai, pp. 408-409.
69 Jaussen, pp. 20-21.
70 *Idem*, pp. 12-13.
71 Blunt, pp. 228-229.
72 Genesis, 12:5, 13:1-11.
73 The names Kazak and Cossack are derived from a common Turkic word *qazaq*, and both were rendered in Russian as Kazak until a faulty pronunciation on the part of Stalin changed the Russian name of the Central Asian Turko-Mongol people to Kazakh.

that there be no question about the paternity of a child. In both Kazak and Arab societies girls may associate with young men without chaperonage. Raswan describes an Arabic courtship in which the young couple was free to indulge in chaste caresses, without going beyond the behavior regarded as correct.[74]

When the Kazak bride-price was paid on the installment plan, the fiancé was sometimes permitted to visit his intended in the interim, in a separate yurt. These vigils appear to have been of the nature of bundling in American colonial society. If the relationship went beyond the accepted bounds, and the girl became pregnant, she was married off to the fiancé forthwith whether or not the bride-price was ever paid in full. If a bridegroom who had not anticipated his marriage privileges found his bride to be not a virgin, he could send her off on the bridal morning with a display of wrath completely humiliating to her, and demand a sister as bride without further payment. The rejected bride could thereafter be married only at the bride-price rate of a widow.[75] Adultery was punishable by death.

Levchine remarks that "ces réparations sévères introduites par d'anciens usages ont aujourd'hui beaucoup perdu de leur force,"[76] but it is clear from Grodekov's account, published in 1889, that deviations from the rule of chastity and fidelity were serious matters indeed.[77] It is true that travelers along the post road from Semipalatinsk to Urumchi in the early 20th century reported great laxity of morals among the women at the Kazak post stations, and there has been a similar loss of standards among the Mongols under lamaism, but these instances are not characteristic. The women of nomadic Central Asia have always had a high reputation for chastity.[78]

Dr Patai's statement concerning the lascivious dances of the Kazaks[79] must be based on incorrectly filed data. The Kazaks do not dance. This writer queried a number of informants while in Kazakstan, and received uniformly negative answers.[80] The statement concerning obscene jokes made by parents to their daughter-in-law also appears to be out of context. There is a definite avoidance relationship between a woman and her parents-in-law, even to her use of their names.[81]

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74 Raswan, pp. 15-19, 25-27.
75 Levchine, pp. 360-362.
76 *Idem*, p. 362.
77 Grodekov; for French condensation, see Dingelstedt, pp. 149-151.
78 See the statements of Carpini and Rubruck in Beazley, pp. 110, 198, and of Guiragos in Dulaurier, p. 249.
79 Patai, p. 410.
80 See also Levchine, p. 372.
81 Rudenko, p. 59, note 2; Dingelstedt, p. 151; Radloff, vol. 1, p. 480.

The status of women in Central Asia appears to be markedly higher than among the Arab nomads. Lady Anne Blunt writes of the mother of Faris that "her will is law in all the camp,"[82] but this appears to be a matter of personality. Among the medieval Mongols the high status of women was formalized. The four chief wives of Chinggis Khan each administered her own camp and herds. Women had an important voice in electing the Khagan of all the Mongols, and the Ilkhans in Iran granted fiefs to women. At another level, Central Asiatic women can divorce their husbands, where divorce is permitted at all, whereas Arab women may not divorce their husbands without the consent of the latter.

Dr Patai writes that: "Social groupings in general show a greater structural complexity, as well as a greater uniformity throughout Central Asia, than is the case in the Middle Eastern nomadic societies."[83] Since a full analysis of the social structure of the two societies will be published in not too long a time, perhaps it will suffice here to say that the social groupings appear to be similar in both areas, with neither more complex nor more uniform than the other.

As for class stratification, there appears to be some difference between Central Asia and the Arabian sphere of Southwest Asia. Among Arab tribes there is a definite class stratification. Some tribes are of pure descent, others mixed, others outcaste. Slaves form a separate caste, as do blacksmiths. In Central Asia there is no such stratification. At best, members of a group descended from an elder brother in the tribal genealogy may be granted certain social courtesies over members of a group descended from a younger brother, as in seating position at a feast.

Within the tribe, class differences appear to be slight in both areas. Certain families stand out by virtue of birth, wealth, and influence, and, other things being equal, chiefship goes to a man of chiefly family. Among the Kazaks White Bones—descendants of famous khans, and of disciples of Muhammed—are shown a certain respect; they are given places of honor and choice pieces of meat at feasts.[84] Whether the same marks of respect are accorded members of Arab families of high birth, this writer does not know. It is my impression that among the Kazaks White Bones intermarry with Black Bones more readily than Arab families of greater and lesser genealogical prestige, but this impression may be in error.

The Kazak servile class which Dr Patai mentions, "of poor tribesmen, including many whose parents or ancestors were slaves before the abolition of slavery

82 Blunt, p. 229.
83 Patai, p. 410.
84 Dingelstedt, pp. 146-147.

in 1859, and who often serve as herdsmen and menials," appears to be economically defined. The slaves, whose status was abolished in 1859—and who were not Kazaks—appear to have been rapidly absorbed into the general population.[85] Poor tribesmen, whatever their antecedents, might hire out as herdsmen. They lived, when not out on the range, as members of the family. Since in addition to food, clothing, and shelter, they were paid a percentage of the young animals born to their herds, an industrious man might in time accumulate enough animals to set up for himself.

Since this section of this paper has been devoted chiefly to points of disagreement between Dr Patai and this writer, it may give a distorted impression. I heartily agree with Dr Patai that Central Asian and Southwest Asian pastoral nomadism are not the same; that Central Asia is a separate culture area; and that a point by point comparison of pastoral nomadism in the two areas is highly desirable. If points of disagreement have been emphasized here, it is in the hope that a new understanding of the problems involved may be achieved through an open discussion of them.

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85 Levchine, pp. 348-349; Dingelstedt, p. 147; Rudenko, p. 60.

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YANKTONAI DAKOTA EAGLE TRAPPING

JAMES H. HOWARD

THOUGH nearly all students of the Plains Indian are familiar with the reverence accorded the eagle by the Dakota, and the value placed upon its feathers, little has appeared in the literature in regard to the manner in which the feathers of the sacred bird were secured. The author, during the years 1950-53, was privileged to secure information from several Dakota regarding this little known aspect of Dakota culture.

Information regarding Yanktonai Dakota eagle trapping was secured from three principal informants: Mr John Saul, of the Lower Yanktonai division of the Dakota, Fort Thompson, South Dakota, who supplied information on trapping procedure and pointed out the locations of two trapping sites; Judge Frank Zahn, of the Upper Yanktonai, Fort Yates, North Dakota, who described the eagle trapping ritual and trapping procedure; and Mr Tom Ross, of the Pabaksa band of the Upper Yanktonai, Fort Totten, North Dakota, who described some ritual aspects of eagle trapping.

Although none of these men are old enough to have participated in an old time eagle trapping expedition, all are familiar with the procedures and ritual from stories told them by members of the preceding generation. Though not mutually acquainted, their accounts agree quite well, which tends to lend validity to their statements. Furthermore, the material given by these men, and the little secured from other informants, checks well with the accounts of Hidatsa eagle trapping given by Wilson[1] and of Mandan eagle trapping given by Bowers.[2]

According to the statements of all informants, any man who desired might trap eagles, there being no prerequisites for doing so. Early autumn, when the weather was still warm, was the favorite season. About six men usually made up a Dakota eagle trapping party. This group commonly left the main village and set up a camp apart from it, in the vicinity of the bluffs where the trapping was to take place.

The shelter in this "base camp" was described as a small conical brush structure. A fire pit was dug in the center and a thick carpet of sage, the sacred plant of the Dakota, was placed near the wall of the lodge to serve as a bed for the

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trappers. The eagle catchers returned to this camp each evening to eat and spend the night.

After building the eagle trapping lodge, the party next built a sweat tent a short distance away from it, preferably near a watercourse or lake. This was of the usual Dakota type, made of saplings covered with hides or brush. When the sweat tent was completed, rocks were heated in a small fire and brought inside. The members of the eagle trapping party divested themselves of all clothing and entered the lodge. After all had entered, the door was closed and one of the men, usually the oldest or most experienced in the group, offered a prayer for the success of the venture. Water was then poured on the heated stones, filling the lodge with vapor. The men sweated profusely, thus cleansing themselves and preparing themselves for the sacred undertaking. After the sweat bath the men plunged into the river or lake, or, if no water were nearby, rubbed their bodies with handfulls of sage. After this they were not permitted to touch their bodies or face with their hands. If a man wished to scratch himself he used a short pointed stick for this purpose.

The party now adjourned to their communal lodge, ate, and rested on their beds of sage until evening. Shortly before sunset they left their lodge, wearing only a breechcloth, and formed a line facing the west. Extending their arms toward the setting sun they sang the song of the prayer for paint,[3] the words of which are as follows:

Tunkáŝilà wasé unlápelò
Tunkáŝilà wasé unlápelò
Tunkáŝilà wasé unlápelò

This simple prayer may be translated as follows:

Grandfather (deity) paint please grant us, etc.

After the prayer one of the members of the party produced a sack of red ochre with which each member of the party was painted on his back with the eagle catcher's design by the oldest or most experienced member of the group. The design consists of the figure of an eagle with his wings outstretched, and was thought to give the trapper luck in his enterprise (Figure 1). It was retained for the duration of the expedition. After receiving the paint the members of the party returned to the lodge and rested for the night, sleeping on their beds of sage.

3 Zahn stated that this prayer for paint was later incorporated into the Yanktonai Ghost Dance rites.

The next morning each man went to select the site for his eagle trapping pit. These were usually on high bluffs overlooking the Missouri, though some were not near any watercourse. John Saul pointed out two pit sites, both of which were at some distance from the river. One of these was approximately eight miles northeast of Fort Thompson, South Dakota, the other about five miles north of Chamberlain, South Dakota. Judge Zahn mentioned that the hills above the present city of Mandan, North Dakota, were formerly favorite eagle trapping locations of the Upper Yanktonai, and Wilson[4] mentions Barren Butte, near Fort Yates, North Dakota, as a favorite site for Dakota eagle catchers.

FIG. 1. Ceremonial eagle trapping paint design (after a drawing by Judge Zahn).

Many factors governed the selection of a site, such as topography, prevailing winds, and whether the area was commonly frequented by the birds.

When each individual had selected his site, he returned to the communal lodge. When all had gathered at the base camp, they proceeded from site to site as a group assisting one another in preparing the pits. According to Judge Zahn these were about five feet long, three feet wide, and three feet deep, but John Saul described pits five feet in depth. The pits were covered with a wicker screen, made of willow branches, into which tufts of leaves and grass were woven to camouflage the pits from the sharp eyes of the birds. A small opening was left in the center of the screen through which a pole, with a stuffed rabbitskin on the end, was inserted. Fresh red meat was tied securely to this rabbit with buck-

4 Gilbert L. Wilson, unpublished notes.

skin thongs, preferably the lungs of a deer. The stick was arranged so that the man in the pit could twitch it slightly, making it appear to the eagle flying above that the rabbit was wounded but still alive.

After all of the pits had been prepared, the men returned to their base camp, where they secured enough food and water to last them throughout their day's vigil. They then entered the pits, and reclining on the floor, waited and watched for the approach of the eagles. According to Judge Zahn the eagles would carefully circle the bait several times. Having decided to take it, however, they would hit fast and hard.

Zahn stated that eagles, though graceful in the air, were clumsy on the ground, and would sometimes remain on the bait several seconds, sinking in their talons and struggling to regain their balance. This gave the trapper the opportunity to secure a good grasp of the eagle's legs and pull him into the pit, at the same time avoiding the murderous hooked beak of the enraged bird. Zahn commented that eagle trappers usually wore heavy buckskin gauntlets on both arms to protect their hands and wrists from the claws of the bird. According to Zahn these were of the same type as those used by hunters to protect their arm from the slap of the bowstring.

The correct procedure, according to Judge Zahn, was to grab both of the bird's feet with the left hand and the bird's neck with the right. The eagle catcher, having secured the bird, prayed to the spirits to excuse him for "putting the eagle to sleep." He then killed the bird by placing his knee on its neck and bearing down upon it heavily for a short while. To do this incorrectly was called "murder" in the eagle trapping vernacular.

John Saul mentioned a variant technique in which two men stayed in the same pit. In this case one man would grab the bird's feet and pull it into the pit where the other would dispatch it with an arrow.

It was forbidden to take young eagles, whose feathers were of no use anyway, and "black" eagles. Only the golden eagle and the bald eagle were used. Judge Zahn commented that the feathers of the brown, or spotted, eagle, which are seen on Dakota dancing costumes at the present time, were not used formerly to any extent by the Dakota. Each man was permitted to take as many eagles as he wished, and some men could capture many in a single day.

At the end of the day's trapping the men wrapped their eagle, or eagles, in sage, to avoid being injured by the eagle's "power," and walked back to their camp singing, all members of the party walking abreast. The song used during this procession had no words, only vocables. Each man was careful to carry his eagle so that the head of the bird pointed toward the camp.

At the base camp a rack was built, consisting of two uprights with a long horizontal pole between. The eagles were tied to this by the legs, head down, the rack being high enough so that the heads were several inches above the ground. The eagles were allowed to remain on this rack until the party returned to the main village.

After several days' trapping, if each man were satisfied with his catch, preparations were made to return to the village. The members of the party took another purifying sweat bath, then gathered in the communal eagle trapping lodge to smoke and pray, thanking *Wákan tánka* for the success of the expedition. The eagles were then removed from the rack, wrapped in sage, and carried to the main village, their heads always facing in that direction.

The eagle catchers entered the village singing, all marching abreast, as they had entered their base camp after catching the eagles. The eagles were hung on a rack similar to the one in the eagle trapping camp and watched carefully to keep dogs and children away.

The next day, according to Judge Zahn, the feathers might be removed, but Tom Ross stated that four days must elapse before this could be done. After this interval the "power" of the eagle was sufficiently weakened so that no harm would come to the person plucking the feathers. As the feathers were being removed, beginning with the twelve tail feathers, the person performing this act wailed and cried, presumably to show respect to the eagle's spirit so that more eagles might be taken on the next expedition. Judge Zahn stated that a peculiar jerking motion was used in extracting the feathers, and that a person who did not know how to do this often broke the shafts in removing them. The tail feathers were most prized, and were used for making warbonnets, crow belts, and war society banners. The wings were used for fans, and the downy plumes from the breast and under the tail for general ornaments.

After the trapper had removed the feathers from his eagle, or eagles, he returned to his eagle trapping pit, bearing the remains of the bird encased in sage. This he placed in the center of the pit, together with the stuffed rabbitskin lure. The eagle's carcass was placed on its back, the head to the west, and tobacco was sprinkled over it. Stones were then placed upon it and the pit was filled in. A circle of large stones, about thirty-five feet in diameter, was laid around the area, designating it as an *owanka wakan*, or "holy place." Judge Zahn commented that many of the so-called "tipi" rings derived from this custom, and pointed out that many of these are situated on high bluffs, which would be ideal for eagle trapping sites but very poor as camp locations.

According to Zahn eagle trapping was abandoned by the Dakota when he

was a boy (ca. 1890) but even yet Dakota who shoot eagles with rifles observe the custom of wrapping the bird in sage when bringing it into camp and of ceremonially burying the bird's carcass with tobacco, though not at the site where it was taken.

CONCLUSIONS

From the above account it may be seen that Yanktonai eagle trapping, though lacking the elaborate bundle rituals of the Mandan and Hidatsa, and possessing some unique features of its own, such as the prayer for paint, nevertheless bears such a close resemblance to the procedures used in these two tribes as to suggest a general pattern for the Missouri valley region. Points of similarity which might be mentioned are: trap design, ceremonial purification of participants before entering trapping pits, use of a special vernacular by the trappers in which death is called "sleep," and the ceremonial disposal of the birds after their feathers have been removed. Thus, Yanktonai eagle trapping seems to offer another piece of evidence demonstrating the cultural similarity of the "nomadic" Dakota and the "sedentary" village tribes, and seems to support the recent view that the likenesses of these groups were much greater than their differences.

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THE INTERRELATIONS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE WITH NORTHERN TLINGIT CEREMONIALISM

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THE RICHLY VARIED CEREMONIALISM of the Tlingit faithfully mirrors in its shifting phases the complexity of Tlingit society, and every announcement by a Tlingit chief that he and his sib are going "to pick up the drum" leads to quickened loyalties and rivalries, and to related social rewards and failures. Some of these aspects of Tlingit ceremonialism are well illustrated by our data from the Alaskan coastal towns of Angoon and Yakutat, and from Teslin and Carcross in the interior country of Yukon Territory. For although each of these northern Tlingit communities varies from the others in important respects, all share fundamental Tlingit social structuring and ceremonial traditions.[1]

Our material ranges in time from the childhood memories of elderly informants to events of 1952, but many Tlingit feel that ceremonialism worthy of the name died out during the first decade of this century. Missionaries have frowned on such activity since their arrival in the previous century, and "potlatching" was specifically outlawed in Canada in 1895 although the law was erratically enforced. The Alaska Native Brotherhood, founded in 1912, strongly discouraged all native traditions which underscore sib and moiety affiliations and consciousness of rank rather than the common brotherhood of all Tlingit. Recently, however, interest in the "old ways" has revived, partly because lawsuits against the United States Government have meant reviewing sib traditions and claims to land ownership. Old ceremonies have again appeared, although sometimes

1 Data in this article were collected on field trips supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the National Museum of Canada, the American Association of University Women, and the Arctic Institute of North America (with funds from the Office of Naval Research). The author gratefully acknowledges the collaboration in the field in 1948 and 1949 of Dr Dorothy Libby. She owes special thanks to Dr Frederica de Laguna for an opportunity to share in fieldwork in 1950 and 1952, and for her valuable collaboration in the preparation of this article. See Frederica de Laguna, "Some Problems in the Relationship between Tlingit Archaeology and Ethnology" (in *Asia and North America: Transpacific Contacts*, Memoirs, Society for American Archaeology, no. 9, pp. 53-57, 1953) and Catharine McClellan, "The Inland Tlingit" (*idem*, pp. 47-52) for further details on the communities mentioned.

The phonetic system employed here is that described in Franz Boas, *Grammatical Notes on the Language of the Tlingit Indians* (Anthropological Publications, University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, vol. 8, no. 1, 1917), pp. 9-12 with some slight modification.

in such modified forms as a Brotherhood-sponsored "war dance" for the benefit of a community light plant, or for the young people "who have never seen it."

Progressives deplore this new trend towards past pageantry as a "drifting back" and say that the old people, who have never felt comfortable in a world where sib brothers and sisters speak freely to each other, are unnecessarily reviving jealousies and enmities of the past. Yet though overt warfare, slavery, and fine Russian pearl buttons are forever gone, the fundamental Tlingit concern for "showing respect" to the dead and living has always persisted, and the attendant ceremonials, although much weakened, still operate sporadically. Through this ceremonialism the Tlingit dramatize in varying degree all of their basic social units from the *qwan* to the individual.

The *qwan* is their largest localized social group and comprises all of the people who live within one particular area. These individuals may have a shared pride in their local products or a feeling of identity based on common dialect, but their unity as a group is nebulous. For example, the Yakutat-*qwan*—inhabitants of camps and villages around Yakutat Bay—once acted together against their common enemy, the Russians, but usually local sib segments pursue their separate ways in war and peace. Territorial ties extending beyond sib-claimed lands remain weak.

Of a different order, and probably more important to the Tlingit, are the exogamic matrilineal moieties, Raven and Wolf (or Eagle), into which the entire Tlingit population is divided. Kinship, real or putative, rather than territorial considerations, governs this pan-Tlingit dual organization, and a host of reciprocal obligations and kinship observances weave back and forth across the dividing axis. Every life crisis requires one's opposites to complete the necessary ritual, and at death, moiety affiliation transcends all other ties. As one informant put it, people of each moiety then unite "irrespective of sib—they need no urging; whatever payment is to be made, or whatever is to be done, they all come voluntarily."

The particular relationships between members of each moiety further depend on individual affiliations with the sibs which make up the two moieties. These sibs, in turn, are composed of one or more matrilineal lineages, which may represent the sib in several different *qwan*. Thus, the Raven Decitan sib which boasts six houses at Angoon also has lineages at Teslin and Carcross. Each local sib segment claims nearby hunting and fishing grounds. The sibs of a town are always ranked, as are the lineages within the particular sibs. The most important man in the community is the chief of the highest ranking house in the top-ranked sib, but even though his sib is so strongly represented as to "own" the town,

the ranking chief is never a real "political" leader. All members of a given sib, wherever they may be, share with a fierce pride the ownership of certain crests, stories, songs, and other prerogatives, as well as a pool of personal and house names which continue "generation after generation."

The Tlingit achieve a formal recognition of the paternal line through their grouping of "sib children." This unit is made up of those whose *fathers* belong to the same sib, and it cuts across the sib affiliations of the children themselves. Of course, if marriage always followed the prescribed intertwining of only the two sibs of one's father and mother, all "sib children" would automatically belong to the same sib. But the ideal pattern never fully operates and "sib children" consequently belong to the several sibs of their mothers. "Sib children" are not as formally organized as the sibs, but the children are supposed to have a warm protective attitude towards each other and to look to their common "fathers" as advisors. They also form a definite joking group.

A final unit is the unranked slave caste, which stands quite apart from the rest of Tlingit society and the continuously graded hierarchy of individuals who make it up.

TYPES OF TLINGIT CEREMONIALISM

While the funeral potlatch is probably the chief ceremony of the Tlingit, three categories of ceremonialism can actually be distinguished: feasts, "potlatches," and peacemaking.

Feasts essentially involve the serving of food in such circumstances as to set the occasion off from every-day eating. This may be a small scale event, as when a house chief treats members of his household after a successful hunt, or it may be a grand affair in which the entire community or people from several towns participate. In many cases members of one moiety feast the opposite moiety and do not themselves eat. The tobacco-smoking party held just before the disposal of the corpse is really a special kind of feasting. Feasts are often given alone, but they are also always important adjuncts of the other two types of ceremonies and are frequently so integrated with them that to press a dividing line is sheer pedantry.

The fundamental core of the "potlatch," as the Tlingit usually employ the term, is the formal and public payment by members of one moiety to those of the opposite, in order to honor the dead and the living by recompensing individuals of the other side for duties rendered, or to guarantee their "respect behavior" in the future. Reciprocal gift-giving and other obligations stemming from moiety membership are a constant part of Tlingit daily life unless one is

a slave; but only on real potlatch occasions is the entire community called to witness the event. High ranking individuals consider potlatching necessary for proper payment for funeral duties, completion of a lineage house, wiping off a "shame" such as a physical blemish or awkward accident, public consignment of an insult to oblivion, restoration of a redeemed slave to his former social standing, and maintaining or attaining full noble status for one's self, one's children or grandchildren. A single potlatch may fulfill several of these functions at one time. Funeral potlatches for high ranking individuals are almost always combined with the rebuilding or completion of a new lineage house, and are often splendid affairs involving inter-village participation. Low ranking people, however, can rarely initiate potlatches, and they limit the important "pay-off" for funeral services to a small "tea party" held for the helpers alone immediately after the burial or cremation. Factors of rank, wealth, and other circumstances also dictate the propriety of undertaking the other types of potlatch.

The peacemaking or "deer" ceremony shares much of the patterning and ritual common to feasting and potlatching, but the crucial feature here is a satisfactory settlement for bodily injury or death inflicted on a member of one sib by a member of another, whether intentional or not. The ceremony is therefore not always moiety aligned, for peace may be made between sibs of the same or of opposite moieties, and in either case the stake is the same. The central figures of the final ceremony are exchanged hostages who are called "deer," because these are peaceful animals, whose behavior the hostages must imitate. The whole affair is a particularly well integrated and extensive bit of symbolism. However, since complete descriptive data on Tlingit ceremonialism are beyond the limits of this paper, we refer only incidentally to feasting and peacemaking, reserving most of our discussion for the potlatch.

OUTLINE OF A POTLATCH

The potlatch itself varies considerably in its combinations and sequences of events, depending on the locality, the whims and fortunes of the hosts, and the purpose of the particular event; but a synthetic sketch of a funeral and house potlatch will serve as a convenient point of reference for some of the generalizations to follow.

Let us suppose that it is about 1900, and that the highest ranking local sib chief has died and was buried a year ago. Now in the fall his gravehouse has been set up, and a new lineage house has been built by men of the opposite moiety to take the place of the dead chief's house. The new chief (son of the sister of the deceased) and his sibmates have collected sufficient wealth and food

for the occasion, and invitations have been extended to the guest sibs by two of the host's *nakani* (siblings-in-law)—say, his sister's husbands. Both the local sibs of the opposite moiety are invited, and two out-of-town sibs are expected. To refuse an invitation would be the gravest of insults, and when the *nakani* delivered their invitations many months ago, the invited sibs had feasted them well.

During their journey to the host village the visiting guests practice their songs and dances at every stop, and they are fed and housed by any of the host's sib who live along the route. On their arrival at the host village, they do not enter it directly, but camp close by. The next day necessary arrangements for song leaders are made—one woman and two men from each sib—and special attendants are appointed for them. Then the visitors, dressed in dance costume and singing "foreign" songs, are conveyed to the town in war canoes manned by young men of the host sib. There the out-of-town guests find the local sibs of their own moiety singing and dancing on the beach, thus marking the beginning of a sequence of rival entertainments between local and visiting guest sibs which will last throughout the full eight days of ceremonial activity.

The host chief humbly steps out into the water and touches the visitors' canoes in welcome. Eloquent greetings and much "respect talk" are exchanged by the highest ranking chiefs of the host and guest moieties. Finally the visitors are brought ashore to the new house, where, for the first four mornings, they wake at dawn so that they can sing to their hosts in the ritually auspicious hour just before the ravens begin to call. The second day begins a succession of parties in which the hosts feast the visiting and local guest sibs in each of their three highest ranking lineage houses. In payment for this, the rival sibs of the guest moiety alternately vie with each other in singing and dancing, and perform prodigious feats of eating seal blubber and drinking grease. The behavior of all participants is scrutinized by the hosts so that just payment may be made later. In spite of the joking of "sib children," the competition grows bitter.

On the fifth day the actual potlatch ceremony begins. At dawn the host chief has delivered a mourning speech from the door of his house, while all the other house chiefs in the village stood outside listening respectfully. The host sib has fasted since the previous evening and now dons full regalia. All of the guests are properly seated, with the highest ranking in the places of honor at the rear of the new house, while the hosts stand by the door.

The finest old style food is served, especially the favorites of the recently deceased chief. Women of the host sib serve the food under the direction of the new chief's sisters-in-law, his brother's two wives, whose share is saved for them

since they belong to the side being feasted. The symbolism of the feast is intense, for all food is eaten for the dead—not only for the dead chief, but for all ancestors of the host moiety. Other food which is put into the fire also reaches the departed, and the fine china bowls which contained it are given to high ranking guests. Two *nakani* loudly announce the names of the dead who are to receive the food, so that the spirits of the other world may hear. The guests themselves represent their own illustrious ancestors who have come to "show respect" and to comfort their grieving hosts.

When the meal is over, the host chief, wearing the most honored crest hat of his sib, initiates eight potlatch songs and dances, and begins in this way the collection of wealth which is to be distributed to the guests: furs, tanned skins, a valuable old "copper," blankets, bolts of calico, and money. After making his own contribution, the chief calls on his people one by one, men and women, naming the highest ranking individuals first. Before these persons add their goods or money, the high ranking ones make long speeches referring to their dead ancestors, and they too wear their most honored hats and other paraphernalia and start valuable potlatch songs and dances in which they are joined by their sibmates. The line of dancers dips and rises as the leaders lower and raise their ceremonial song paddles to the drummer's beat. Emotions mount, and many weep at the memories of the dead and of the incidents in sib history recalled by the songs and oratory.

In conjunction with this display of valued symbols and the "throwing away of so many dollars for respect," the newly built lineage house receives the name of the older one, and the stories illustrated by the newly carved interior posts are fully explained. The new house chief assumes the illustrious name of his dead uncle; grandparents bestow honored names on their grandchildren; and a new name referring to the potlatch itself is given to a favored son's son. In order to support it properly, the boy's grandfather "kills a slave"—not literally, but in terms of equivalent wealth given away. A noble girl has her hands tattooed with her sib crest by her "father's brother," and other such steps are taken to validate social positions. Each action is marked by a contribution. Although the chief who is nominally giving the potlatch provides the greatest amount of wealth, all of his ranking sibmates ostentatiously give what they can. Members of other sibs in the host moiety are also called, but they do not add much unless they are closely related to the deceased. Two *nakani* call out the name of each contributor and of the dead person being honored. They also keep track of the amounts collected and then announce the total so that "the dead will hear it."

Now the distribution of wealth begins, with the *nakani* again acting as pages. Every bit must be given away, since this is the only way in which the dead can receive its benefit in the spirit world. Should any of the collected goods be withheld, the host sib will suffer "bad luck." The payments require the most delicate judgment. Primarily the guests must be suitably rewarded for the duties they performed at the death of the old chief, and for building his gravehouse and the new lineage house. Whether one carried the corpse or only a few boards, due recognition must be made, although some have already been paid once at the "tea party" following the funeral many months ago. Payments for those unable to attend the potlatch are entrusted to their house chiefs. All guests, even those who did nothing at all and are of the lowest rank, must receive something, if only half a blanket and a dollar bill. In addition, the high ranking are given presents based on finely shaded social status, measured in terms of wealth, character, past potlatching activities, and the important and intricate network of family connections. Those who distinguished themselves by eating the largest squares of blubber or by drinking enough grease to vomit at one of the earlier feasts, or who in some other way showed respect to their hosts, must also be rewarded. The business of distribution is complicated, and the hosts fondly hope that they can avoid the grumbling or actual fighting that sometimes follows.

Since the process of collection and distribution takes two days and nights, from time to time the leading guest chief formally requests a recess for the guests, for the long sitting grows "very tiresome."

When the potlatching is finally concluded, the time comes for the guests to thank and comfort their hosts with formal speeches, and to cheer them up by dancing and singing in their own ceremonial paraphernalia. Their return party is given the next day, when they may take the opportunity to name one of their own grandchildren and pay to display some of their valued emblems. But this distribution is not on the same scale as the potlatch proper and the chief emphasis is on dancing and singing a thanks to the hosts. Masked dances are performed by some, and "war dances," joking and other acts become the order of the day. The guest sibs again try to outdo each other. They dance in the house of one of the local guest sibs, for were they to do it in the host's new house, much money would have to be "thrown away" to the opposite moiety for its use.

When the thank-you party is over, the chief purpose of the potlatch has been accomplished. The hosts say that they have "put their troubles away" and that the dead chief has been alone on an island, but the guests have helped bring him "back to the mainland." Perhaps this symbolically puts him in the

position of being ready to be born again, for his death has been properly "finished," and his nephew—installed as the new lineage chief and bearing the old chief's name—will take his uncle's widow as wife. The hosts are happy.

After two more days of feasting the visitors depart. But some guests still grumble at the meanness of their potlatch gifts; others recall with chuckles the clever joking after the pay-off between a ranking guest chief and his daughter-in-law. A serious minded young nobleman reflects on the new sib traditions he has heard. The carving and symbolism of the new houseposts are discussed, and the host village is compared with that of the visitor's. The latter conclude their own to be superior in every way. Next winter they will have a chance to prove their point when they in turn will invite their recent hosts to a potlatch.

RECOGNITION OF THE *QWAN* IN TLINGIT CEREMONIALISM

The foregoing sketch illustrates how rhetoric, song, dance, and humor, as well as the trappings of sib regalia and architectural ornamentation are woven into a Tlingit ceremonial. We can now examine more closely how the manipulation of these formal elements reflects Tlingit society.

The *qwan* receives relatively little formal recognition, even though full scale feasting, potlatching, or peacemaking temporarily bind it together by requiring total community attendance. *Qwan* membership sometimes seems important when sibs from one *qwan* join together to dance against the sib or sibs within their own moiety who come from another area. For example, the Kaɬix-Kagwantan and the Tcicqedi, Eagle sibs of Katalla, may dance as a unit against the Teqwedi, the chief Eagle sib in Yakutat. However, in this case, as in many others, the arrangement depends as much on the closeness of kinship between the sibs so grouped as on the differing geographical ties of the visiting and local sibs. Further, while family members of the opposite moiety may accompany a visiting sib to a ceremony, official invitations never extend beyond one moiety of a town. Any visitors belonging to the moiety giving the potlatch must ally themselves with the hosts.

Geographical situation also relates to the Tlingit delight in imitating surrounding foreigners. For example, Sitka and Angoon people characteristically sing Tsimshian and Haida dance songs learned from their southern neighbors, while Chilkat, Dry Bay, and Yakutat natives mimic the particular Athabaskans with whom they have intermarried and traded. The Yakutat also capitalize on their Copper River connections in costume, song, and dance, and an Aleut dance performed by a man of Yakutat lineage so pleased spectators at Sitka that he was offered the daughter of a Chilkat chief in marriage.

The exotic element and sheer showmanship derived from miming strangers accounts for many of these "foreign" performances. One of the most successful acts of a Dry Bay potlatch in 1909 was the appearance of the Raven T'łuk'naxadi women clad in kimonos and wearing Japanese hats on Japanese style haircuts—a bit of pageantry inspired by some shipwrecked Japanese who had drifted ashore the previous year. In 1916 the Yakutat Teqwedi potlatch dress featured crownless round-brimmed straw hats trimmed with dentalia, a headgear elaborated from a style "captured from the Russian Navy."

Contacts resulting from geographical location may thus furnish attractive themes for ceremonial occasions, but the intent is certainly not to underscore the unity of the *qwan* as a social group; ceremonial stress is predominantly in terms of kinship rather than common geographical ties. Therefore, while sibs of either moiety at Yakutat may sometimes dance, sing, or dress in Copper River style, the Raven Kwack'qwan invariably do this, since they trace their origin to that area. In other communities, too, certain sibs, because of their particular histories, emphasize special connections with foreigners more than do others.

RECOGNITION OF KIN GROUPINGS IN TLINGIT CEREMONIALISM

Simplified accounts of Tlingit potlatching focus almost entirely on the way in which one moiety plays host to the other. As we have seen, the arrangement is certainly fundamental to a funeral potlatch, for only through feeding and making gifts to their opposites can the hosts benefit their own dead in the spirit world, while the guests in receiving also represent the spirits of their own departed. Perhaps this is an attempt by the living to act out the reversal theme characteristic of the spirit world. We may also note that when the guest chief asks for a recess, the request is verbally denied—meaning that it will be granted. Swanton quotes the invitation to a potlatch feast: "All people shall not eat today. A day shall pass before they eat,"[2] which again indicates just the opposite. The need to join the real and the spirit worlds at death, may, indeed, have helped to lay the pattern for the moiety structuring of other ceremonials, and perhaps reaches far back in Tlingit history. For the notion of having to feed people from outside one's own group at a death feast is widespread among other northern peoples. However, this in turn may be an aspect of an even more fundamental pattern of having to validate any important social action in the presence of an out-group or "opposite" witnesses.

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2 John R. Swanton, *Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians* (26th Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 391-485, 1908), p. 440.

The very balancing of moiety against moiety brings with it recognition of the numerous paternal and affinal relationships connecting the two groups. Thus the strong ties between father and child are continually stressed in the terms of address used by guests and hosts. It is primarily as their "fathers' people" that the guests comfort and "save" their hosts whose own maternal relatives have abandoned them by dying.

Maintaining clear cut moiety opposition seems more important in paternal than in affinal relationships. Although husband and wife are in different moieties, one may sometimes represent the other on ceremonial occasions. A woman may dance, sing, and make a contribution in place of her crippled husband; a husband may stand behind his wife to prompt her when she is a song leader, or a man may do the heavy work involved in preparing a grave fence which technically should be done by his wife. In the latter case it is the wife who is paid. However, we were also told that a wife may announce before a potlatch that she is going to "give herself up for her husband." She then refuses all gifts with the phrase "I give it for the face of my husband," an act which honors both him and herself. What becomes of the rejected gifts is not clear, but presumably they are distributed to other guests so that the underlying purpose of showing respect to the dead is not vitiated. Apparently several women can do this at the same potlatch, but only high class women attempt this prestige-gaining maneuver. We do not know whether a husband ever takes this role for his wife. He may, however, honor his children by putting up money "through his wife" at a potlatch designed to elevate their rank.

We have already seen how the *nakɑni* or siblings-in-law are intermediaries in extending potlatch invitations, distributing gifts, making announcements, and overseeing the serving of food. They also act as the go-betweens in peace ceremonies. Thus, through the *nakɑni* the "opposites" are brought into formal contact with each other at necessary points in the ceremonial sequence.

Certain mutually recognized symbols and types of behavior mark the two moieties off from each other. All Raven sibs claim the Raven as a crest, although some, such as the T'łuk'naxʌdi of Yakutat or the Kuqhɨtan of Teslin make more of it than do others.[3] While some songs and stories of the Raven cycle are the common property of all Ravens, others are used only by certain Raven sibs to justify claims to particular crests or geographical areas. The T'łuk'naxʌdi, for example, claim the whale in which Raven floated ashore at Dry Bay and also have a house named for the cave in which Raven lived there. Personal names

3 Cf. Swanton (*Social Condition*, p. 416) who says that the Wolf Daq'ɬawedi also claim some right to the Raven. None of our Daq'ɬawedi informants mentioned this.

referring to Raven are said to be used by all Raven groups,[4] although each sib claims a particular set. All Ravens also share common rights to face paintings representing parts of Raven, or his tracks, or his dance baton.[5] The moiety as a whole may be addressed as "Ravens" or as Tłayinyedi, which is also the name of one Raven sib. Raven women are called Crow or sometimes Seagull Women. They have a reputation for being lighthearted, and Ravens as a whole are supposed to make more incestuous marriages than Wolves.

There is no one mythical Wolf like Raven, but most Wolf sibs use this animal as a crest, because the ancestors of each have encountered supernatural wolves. Some sibs, such as the Yɛnyedi, claim to be the "real Wolves" and feel that they have the most right to the Wolf crest. The Eagle is particularly valued by other northern Wolf sibs, hence the moiety is often called Eagle at Angoon and Yakutat. Raven, who is credited with the original division of people into Ravens and Wolves, is said to have made more Wolf than Raven women and to have made them more sexually attractive as well. The only terms other than "Wolves" or "Eagles" given to designate the moiety as a whole were T'sat'enedi and Cankukedi, both names of particular Wolf sibs. The latter was also recorded by Swanton.[6]

In spite of the moiety structuring of much Tlingit ceremonialism, and in spite of moiety crests, face painting, and names, only a few ceremonial acts proclaim Wolf or Raven status as such. These usually capitalize on the bird or animal-like attributes of the moiety. For example, when Raven guests have finished smoking or have emptied their feast dishes, they all cry "Ga!" in a croaking fashion; similarly, the Wolves howl "Wu! Wu!" Such cries not only enliven the party, but they can also be used to stop brawling between rival sibs of the opposite moiety.[7] Songs, jokes, and terms of address may carry the same symbolism. A Raven widower mourning his dead wife at a potlatch sings "I wonder if the Wolf goes through the woods." On another occasion a Wolf man sings "You surprise me, you Raven. When you see another Wolf, you want to get way up on a branch."[8] An Eagle man, reprimanded for marrying within his

4 Swanton, *Social Condition*, p. 422.

5 *Idem*, Plates XLVIII-LVI.

6 *Idem*, p. 407. Our information about moieties and their names and characteristics varies somewhat from Swanton's, a fact best explained by the differing amalgamations of foreign groups in particular areas. We heard nothing about the extra-moiety Nexadi; see Swanton, *Social Condition*, pp. 398, 409.

7 Cf. Swanton, *Social Condition*, p. 440.

8 John R. Swanton, *Tlingit Myths and Texts* (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 39, 1909), p. 401.

own moiety, jokes "When did you ever see an Eagle make love to a Raven?" Or the Kwack'qwan sib chief, acting for the Yakutat Ravens as a whole, greets his Eagle guests "I welcome you to the warmest place under my wings, the warmest place under my feathers." Conversely, the Wolf chief when requesting a recess asks the "Raven to move out of our way." However, just as frequently the animal named belongs to the host sib instead of to the moiety as a whole: for example, the Teqwedi are addressed as Bears instead of Wolves. It is the sib, rather than the moiety, which is most constantly symbolized in Tlingit ceremonialism.

Although individual house chiefs of different host sibs sometimes try to outdo each other in the lavishness of their potlatch contributions, the host moiety usually appears to have a greater unity than does the guest moiety. As we have seen, guest sibs exhibit a definite pattern of rivalry. Should there be only one invited sib, the lineages within it may line up to dance against each other. No one explanation fully accounts for the varying rival alignments of the guests. Sometimes, geographical location may figure, or kinship considerations may hold together two sibs which were once historically united. On the other hand, the quarreling which caused a sib to split may dictate continued antagonisms.

Whatever the reasons for the groupings, the guest competition is often symbolized as warfare, and sometimes leads to real fights. Each sib constantly watches the other for mistakes, and if one is detected, immediately begins to "make fun" of the erring group. A woman song leader told how she barely averted a riot when one of the opposing song leaders sang the same verse of a song twice. If one side sings more songs or does more dances than the other, this too means trouble. The institutionalized way of halting a resulting fight is for the hosts to run forward with their own crests.[9] This act recalls to the guests the need for proper respect for the hosts' emblems, which probably have added emotional significance as the crests of the guests' grandfathers, fathers, wives, or children.

Paternal and affinal kin ties are stressed in another way when, as Swanton tells us, the opposing guest sibs announce their intention to dance peaceably by saying "I am holding your daughter's hand."[10] This is because the daughter of a man in a given moiety is the wife of a man in the same or another sib of the same moiety, so that all guest sibs are bound together through important affinal connections as well as by the "brotherhood" of their own moiety. Kinship thus channels loyalties in several directions, but the matrilineal ties of the sib are

9 Cf. Swanton, *Social Condition*, p. 434.
10 *Idem*, p. 440.

apparently the strongest, and sib solidarity is continually reinforced at ceremonies through the symbolization of sib crests and other prerogatives.

THE SIB AND ITS CRESTS

Most major sib crests are "totemic" animals, that is, animals with which sib ancestors had supernatural encounters in the distant past. Although Ravens may not keep pet ravens, nor Wolves, pet wolves—which suggests a special attitude towards common moiety totems—no special taboos seem to be observed in the case of sib animals proper. Those who honor the Frog as their crest usually exhibit at the same time the marked fear of frogs which characterizes most Tlingit.

Some totems are more widely used within a sib than others. Thus, the Daq'ɬawedi Killerwhale represents a single tradition revered by all branches of the sib, while the Beaver is claimed by several Decitan lineages in a number of different places. In the latter case, however, several distinct representatives of the species are involved. Angoon Decitan claim a trail-finding Beaver, different from the near-by Basket Bay Beaver,[11] while a combined version of the two is honored by the Carcross Decitan. The Teslin Decitan value in addition a two-headed Beaver which the grandfather of the local sib chief netted under the ice. In other sibs each lineage may display a separate animal species as well as the major sib crest animals. Nor do crests necessarily have to be animals, but may be supernatural powers, heavenly phenomena, mountains, etc.[12] Most lineages also have important geographical emblems symbolizing their territorial holdings. These of necessity have rather limited importance within the sib as a whole. Thus the dance blanket symbolizing claims to the Ahrnklin River is used only by the Drum House lineage of the Yakutat Teqwedi, and the stylized river, Kwack', painted on a drum belonging to the Yakutat Kwack'qwan, would lose meaning as a land-holding validation should the sib emigrate, although it might retain value as commemorating sib history. Each house-owning group has its own specific house name and minor prerogatives which pertain only to it.

All claimed prerogatives may be represented visually. While totem poles are not common in the northern Tlingit area, each lineage house usually has both carved interior posts and a painted wall screen on which sib crests and history are depicted. These architectural ornaments are so highly valued that names bestowed at potlatches often refer to them. For example, a T'ɬuk'naɣadi woman's

11 Cf. Viola E. Garfield, *Historical Aspects of Tlingit Clans in Angoon, Alaska* (American Anthropologist, vol. 49, pp. 438-452, 1947), pp. 439-440.

12 Cf. Swanton, *Social Condition*, pp. 415-420.

name commemorates the wall painting of a Frog, and "Facing In" received his name when his grandfather turned his house post inward.

Hats representing major sib crests have especial emotional significance and value. The Angoon Decitan say that to display the Raven Hat and sing its song is the "most respectable thing" they can do. Such hats are worn by the highest ranking sib chiefs; lower ranking chiefs, however, would wear their lineage crest hats. Dance paddles, staffs for mourning songs, feast dishes, and other objects are also crest decorated and have the same symbolic function.

In the old days most ceremonial paraphernalia was apparently burned with the corpse of the owning lineage chief, but today it is supposed to be held in perpetual trust. However, some custodians have destroyed these heirlooms rather than let them be acquired by a museum, or worse, by another sib. The ranking house chief controls the display of all major sib emblems within a given locality, and can therefore theoretically prevent a lesser house chief from initiating a potlatch. But how often such a right is exercised is not clear. In one case the nephew of a sib chief attempted suicide because his uncle refused him permission to give a potlatch for his dead mother, and in another instance an older brother would not let his younger brother build a new lineage house. Jealousy often enters into such a situation, for while each new named house means reaffirmation of sib unity, at the same time individual house chiefs acquire added social status.

In the building of a new house, the chief's maternal nephews actually do most of the heavy work, but members of the opposite moiety put on the finishing touches, and are paid handsomely at the dedication potlatch. Ideally all other sib paraphernalia, especially carvings, hats, shirts, and blankets, should also be manufactured by the opposite moiety or ordered through them from Tsimshian artists. If there is only one skilled carver in the community he may carve for both moieties, but his wife is ceremonially paid for whatever is used by a sib of his own side. He himself benefits directly only from pieces delivered to his opposites. It is possible for a carver who wishes to honor his brother-in-law and raise his own status to refuse all payment for a house pole; on the other hand he may ask, and receive, a wife in exchange. Properly, one should always pay "I don't know how many times double, just for respect."

In addition to remuneration for the actual production of paraphernalia, wealth must be distributed at its every display, or it will lack all ceremonial recognition by members of both moieties. Payment is most formalized at potlatches, but even today several dollars may be given to any member of the opposite moiety present when a sib crest is being privately photographed.

Just as important as the material representations of sib prerogatives are the songs and dances which grow more highly honored "the more you give away on them." These have such deep emotional significance that they often bring tears, even though the words are so archaic and so highly symbolic that an ordinary person cannot translate them. Not infrequently they are in a foreign language to commemorate an incident in sib history.

Swanton's texts clearly show how chiefs weave sib traditions into every speech, and liken their display of sib emblems to "forts," "cliffs," "war shirts," or "fires" which will protect and comfort the bereaved hosts.[13] At peacemaking ceremonies great importance is attached to "riddle talking" in which one side reveals through its answer whether it has fully understood the allusions in the other's speech. The Teslin Kuqhitan declare their intention of potlatching by saying "just row the boat into its throat," while Angoon Decitan indicate that a potlatch will last all night by announcing that the tide still covers Raven's Halibut. Such remarks would mean nothing unless sib symbolism were understood by hosts and guests alike. Even the distribution of wealth may incorporate sib symbolism, as when a chief of the T'luk'naxadi, or Cohoe Salmon People, distributes $300 in gold pieces by pretending they are pieces of cohoe salmon. Thus, at every ceremony each sib, whether host or guest, is constantly symbolized as a vital unit within the moiety and every lineage is likewise distinguished within the sib framework.

Yet the actual range of major crests is quite limited for sibs of either moiety, and often two or more sibs share the same emblem or emblems. For example, when the Old Yenyedi of Teslin potlatched recently they wore regalia in which the Wolf, their chief crest animal, was represented on beaded dance shirts and by a huge black mounted wolf skin. Claims to the Grizzly Bear were shown by a headband with grizzly bear ears attached, their Eagle affiliation by beaded dance bibs with eagle designs, and their rights to the Killerwhale by a whale outlined in pearl buttons on a dance blanket. The story of their ancestor's encounter with a supernatural Wolf was constantly referred to in subtle rhetoric, and their various mourning songs were rich in the imagery of wolves. The wealth to honor the departed was carried into the hall on driftwood and willow boughs and then distributed from them in order to reaffirm local sib claims to the Nisutlin River. Finally at the end of the potlatch, all the hosts howled like wolves. Except for the Nisutlin River, all of these crests are also claimed by various other

13 Swanton, *Tlingit Myths*, pp. 374-389.

sibs of the Wolf moiety, although the importance of the crests and the reasons advanced for their claims sometimes differ.[14]

This sharing of totemic crests is mostly due to the splits or amalgamations which have produced the fifty-odd Wolf and Raven sibs listed today. A detailed analysis of crests throughout the whole area might help to clarify the historical interrelations of sibs and moieties.[15] Here it need only be pointed out that when one or more house groups move to a new area or assume a new name, or when foreigners are incorporated into Tlingit society, the identity of the new group and its rights to lands must be thoroughly validated through the display of crests. On such occasions, totally new emblems may be assumed, complete usurpation of old ones may be attempted, or else old ones may be shared. The balance of shared crest ownership is often an uneasy one, for while it sometimes strengthens inter-sib friendships, it may also foster conflict.

How the latter may flare openly at the ceremonial display of the crest in question is illustrated in the case of the wolf skin mentioned above. Two closely related sibs in Teslin both claim the name Yenyedi, but we can distinguish them as the Old and the New. Both use the Wolf as a chief crest animal, although the New Yenyedi make much of the Golden Eagle as well. The Old Yenyedi once held an important funeral potlatch, but since they lacked a large lineage house in the village, they rented the vacant Raven house of the Kuqhitan for the occasion. While the New Yenyedi played a minor role as hosts, the Old Yenyedi for the first time showed the handsome mounted wolf skin, and from its back they distributed bolts of calico, tanned hides, fancy moccasins, and large sums of money—with the phrase "from the back of the Wolf." The Old Yenyedi finished, secure and proud in the conviction that they had fully validated their claims to the Wolf in this new form. But repercussions followed.

First, the nephew of the former Kuqhitan house chief refused to attend the dance following the potlatch. The next day he went about the village, loudly mourning his dead uncle because proper respect had not been paid his sib for the use of the Raven house. He felt that in addition to the rent already paid, wealth should have been taken from the Wolf skin publicly as special "respect pay" for the house. Because of their injured feelings, the Kuqhitan, who are largely married to the New Yenyedi, urged their spouses to action as well. All of the New Yenyedi then dressed in sib regalia and descended on the Old Yenyedi chief with a demand that the wolf skin be given to them, since neglect

14 Swanton, *Social Condition*, pp. 412-420; *Tlingit Myths*, pp. 228, 230-233; Garfield, *Historical Aspects*, pp. 443-450.

15 As Garfield (*Historical Aspects*) has done for Angoon.

to pay for the house properly, when the skin was first shown, was a fundamental disgrace to the Wolf crest which they, too, claim. The intricate quarreling and the settlement which followed caused a flood of conflicting loyalties for all concerned. For instance, a devoted Kuqhitan wife of an Old Yenyedi "denounced her Crow"—that is, she fully repudiated the behavior of her own sib, and as a consequence her embittered children greeted her with "Hello, Wolf!" Raven Decitan married to both Yenyedi branches tried to negotiate fairly for both sides. In the end, the Old Yenyedi felt that their actions had "raised the Wolf higher," and that they held the Wolf "more firm" than ever.

Bitterness resulting from the ceremonial exhibition of shared crests is also amply documented from the coast, as when the Kiksadi of Sitka, who claim the Frog, chopped up a newly displayed T'łuk'naxadi Frog carving. In this case the T'łuk'naxadi were recent comers to Sitka and relations between the two groups were probably already strained. Swanton reports, for example, that the Kiksadi danced against the T'łuk'naxadi whenever the Ravens were guests at a potlatch.[16] The attempted display of the Frog merely served as a focal point for more overt conflict. The Yakutat T'łuk'naxadi know that the Ganaxtedi also use the Frog as a crest, but this does not disturb them as do Kiksadi claims. Their reason is that "the Ganaxtedi act quiet about it," but a more realistic explanation might be that the two sibs never seem to have displayed it prominently at the same time in the same general area. The Chilkat Ganaxtedi and Yakutat T'łuk'naxadi once did fight over rival ceremonial displays of Raven Hats, and on this occasion, the T'łuk'naxadi had Kiksadi from near Hoonah as allies.[17] Thus the particular relations of sib lineages at different times and in different communities may produce varied reactions to the display of shared sib crests.

In a few cases crest animals or prerogatives are shared by sibs of opposite moieties. For example, the tune of the Beaver potlatch song of the Kałix-Kagwantan Wolves of Yakutat is also used by Raven Decitan lineages of Basket Bay, Teslin, and Carcross, and all use the Beaver as their most important crest. Claims of each lineage rest on the fact that their ancestors had adventures with the same little Beaver. As far as we know neither sib today disputes the rights of the other, but the stories themselves contain such strong hints of inter-moiety animosity that they perhaps cloak in symbolic form an old quarrel in which one side tried to take the Beaver from the other, with the result that both share it today.

16 Swanton, *Social Condition*, p. 435.
17 Swanton, *Tlingit Myths*, pp. 161-165.

Formerly sib emblems could be captured in war,[18] and they still may be seized for failure to pay a debt. For example, the aggrieved sib may carve on one of their own tombstones a crest of the defaulters, thus "freezing it." Only lavish payment at a full-scale peace ceremony will recover the lost crest. It is not, however, clear to what extent sib prerogatives can be voluntarily relinquished. We know of one case in which a lineage song was formally transferred from one sib to another in exchange for a high ranking hostage.

At ceremonies close affinal or paternal ties may permit temporary shifting of sib prerogatives. We are told that sons may borrow their fathers' dance blankets if they pay for them, but we are not sure if this applies to crest transfer as well. Children at potlatches are sometimes requested to sing their "fathers'" songs, and at the funeral pyre the bereaved sib always sang the songs which belonged to the "fathers" of the deceased. It is perhaps suggestive that in several stories of the origins of sib crests, the emblems have actually been derived from affinal or paternal kin. For example, it was declared that a Decitan man originally carved the Daq'ɬawedi Killerwhale and then presented it as a crest to his wives and children.[19] Perhaps this is only a reflection of the customary manufacturing of regalia for one's opposites. Or, does this imply that a sib can, or should, receive its original totem from its opposites? Our data are not sufficient to clarify the matter. The frequent marriage of sib heroes to the animal chosen as crest might seem to support the notion;[20] on the other hand, other stories validating sib totems involve only a simple encounter with the animal.[21]

"Sib children" have no common emblems of their own, but they are ideally held together through their "fathers'" crests. Quarreling Yɛnyedi-children may be pacified by a reference to the Nisutlin River, or Decitan-children are told "The Beaver is supposed to hold his children together in one bunch; they are not supposed to fight." Solemn potlatch songs are also frequently addressed to "sib children." Sometimes a man making his contribution may sing a special song to a "sib child" or to several of them, say to Kagwantan-children. The latter must then "pay" for it by a dance or reciprocal song. Another verse might then be added for Daq'ɬawedi-children, and again the song must be paid for. Dr de Laguna has recently described some of the clowning acts which are put on by sib children at feasts and potlatches. The underlying pattern seems to be an emo-

18 *Ibid.*

19 However, more usually the carver of the Killerwhale is said to be a Daq'ɬawedi man himself (Swanton, *Tlingit Myths*, pp. 25-27, 230; Garfield, *Historical Aspects*, pp. 448-449). The Eagle hero, Kakeq'ʷtɛ, presented the Sleep Bird to his T'ɬuk'naxadi wife, whose kinsmen built Sleep House which had carved Sleep Bird posts (Swanton, *Tlingit Myths*, p. 154).

20 Cf. Swanton, *Tlingit Myths*, pp. 49-50, 53-55.

21 Cf. *idem*, pp. 231-233.

tional appeal for support from a social group which underscores paternal ties and stands outside one's own sib.[22] At the same time "sib children" provide much needed comic relief at prolonged serious and intense occasions.

THE INDIVIDUAL IN TLINGIT CEREMONIALISM

The foregoing should make clear that a Tlingit individual can never participate in a ceremony without consciously relating himself to several social groups. He cannot ever discount his moiety affiliation or divorce himself from the rise and fall of his sib and lineage fortunes, or ignore the sib membership of his father, grandfather, or other relatives. Yet there is one sense in which each Tlingit is a unique social unit—this is in terms of his precise social rank which is determined basically at birth, by both maternal and paternal kin connections. Subsequent deaths and births of others, visitors from other *qwan*, absences of one's own townsmen, or other circumstances continually adjust the ranked series at any given place, but ideally the exact position of every individual should always be known, and all overt social behavior should be conditioned by it. At no time is this more important than on ceremonial occasions. The seating arrangement at a potlatch must visually represent the stepped social grading of the guests. The order of serving, the choice of speakers, the payments for duties rendered, the duties themselves, and countless other aspects of ceremonial protocol depend on individual rank. In peacemaking all settlements must be in terms of as close social equivalents as possible, even if this fiction can often only be achieved by adding wealth to the "head" of a low ranking man.

Although the ramifications of rank are many, the system is not so rigid but that those of strong character or special talents may manipulate it to their advantage, or historical accidents profoundly affect it. Even though a man is expected to contribute his wealth to his lineage chief, there are also ways in which he may acquire a reserve for himself. Through judicious marriage and lavish potlatch distributions he may then hope to gain added social prestige for himself or his grandchildren, or—through his wife—for his own children. The statement that "it takes eight potlatches to make a prince" is apparently applied either to attaining or to maintaining social position, and is tacit recognition that social movement exists through ceremonial means. This works both ways, for an inherited high position can equally well be lost through niggardly ceremonial participation. A certain sib chief who failed to "finish" his uncle's grave in proper style is now the laughing stock of his community, although other social behavior unbefitting a nobleman aided his downfall. Any marked rise or drop in the

22 Frederica de Laguna, *Some Dynamic Forces in Tlingit Society* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 8, pp. 1-12, 1952).

status of a high ranking individual, such as a house chief, necessarily affects his entire sib group, but he, in turn, is constantly checked by his necessity for their social and economic support.

We have deliberately avoided in this discussion most historical and economic aspects of ceremonialism, although it may be noted that large scale destruction of wealth at potlatches, which is characteristic of the southern part of the Northwest Coast, was considered senseless by our informants. Apart from the killing of slaves, our only recorded property destruction occurred many years ago when a large wooden Raven, draped with Chilkat blankets, was floated out on the tide. The culminating point of this potlatch, however, was the ceremonial death of many slaves. The ranking chief of another place boasted that the water below his village was never fit to drink after a potlatch because of the slaves' blood that reddened it. Other chiefs felt they gained greater glory by ceremonially freeing slaves or giving them to guests. Stories indicate that a chief might send his nephews on special slave-buying expeditions before a big potlatch. These might be "Flathead" foreigners from the south, or, as an intended insult, they might be Tlingit slaves from sibs closely related to those of the guests.[23] Indeed, competitive manipulation of slaves for prestige purposes seems to have become a fairly strong potlatch pattern, but perhaps slave-killing or their presentation to opposites was originally more closely akin to the provision of food and clothing for the benefit of the deceased.

The status of slaves in aboriginal Tlingit economy is not altogether clear. Although they had no rank and no membership in any of the social groups which operated on ceremonial occasions, they apparently attended them. They could not, however, join in the ceremonial feasting, and such an act once caused a war on the Taku River. Yet it was the slave, above all, whose individual fortunes might be most violently affected by a ceremony, but precisely because he was outside the ranked Tlingit social system, what happened to him had relatively little effect on his fellow slaves.

Ceremonialism fosters a certain amount of individual creative expression, although always with some reference to the ever-present ranking system. Thus skill in rhetoric is often rewarded, but low ranking individuals are not supposed to speak in public. Only a high class man can exhibit the impressive familiarity with sib traditions and genealogical data which depends on leisure time and which characterizes fine Tlingit oratory. A sib chief often picks out an especially apt nephew and sends him on visits to various Tlingit *qwan* and to foreign tribes as well. The boy returns with increased Tlingit lore and knowledge of foreign languages and ways which are not only economically useful in trading, but which

23 Swanton, *Tlingit Myths*, pp. 161-162.

will dazzle guest sibs as well. We are uncertain whether there is actually an institutionalized "chief's speaker," although Boas lists the term.[24] Perhaps it refers to this favored nephew who achieves prestige for his sib, his uncle, and himself through brilliant rhetoric.

All Tlingit are encouraged to dance and sing from the time they are tiny children, and skill in dancing, singing, and song composing apparently receive more democratic recognition at ceremonials than does oratory. However, "foreign" dances or songs in which everyone joins, or individual masked dances are not as important as the formal potlatch dancing and singing. Traditionally, these should be undertaken only by the older sib members of rank, called "grandfathers," since such performances always require great wealth distribution, whereas entertainment of the other types is handsomely rewarded.[25] This distinction is not always observed today.

We have already described the strained circumstances under which much ceremonial dancing is done, and how the slightest misstep may provoke a fight between contesting guest sibs. Swanton writes that if a fine dancer dies soon after a potlatch, it is said that "The people's looks have killed him."[26] At the end of her puberty confinement, a high class Interior girl must dance into the house, swathed in yards of calico, which is cut off for distribution while she continues her dance. Should she make a single error, this portends death for her whole sib. In the same way, a mistake in the dance of a peace hostage halts the ceremony and usually means its failure. Only nobles can be "deer," and "a deer dance is about the hardest thing anyone can do."

Great eating capacity, clever joking, or good dramatic acting are other personal abilities which are appreciated and rewarded. It might be thought that shamans, because of their special control of supernatural powers, would be especially important individuals in group ceremonies. Occasionally they put on exhibitions of their skills at potlatches but this is not very common, and the "spirit dances," performed by laymen at potlatches, are intentionally humorous imitations of shamanistic performances. The shaman himself is essentially an individualist. Although, in alliance with a sib chief he may regulate much social policy within the sib, he also often acts without regard to the usual sib and moiety structuring. His seances, while kinds of ceremonies in themselves, are ill-suited to the large, sharp-eyed audiences of a full scale potlatch, for his spirits are too easily offended by menstruating women or other unclean individuals. More characteristically, the shaman fits into the preliminary phases of

24 Boas, *Grammatical Notes*, p. 136.
25 Swanton, *Tlingit Myths*, pp. 140-141.
26 Swanton, *Social Condition*, p. 435.

a major social activity, such as warfare, than into the ceremonials which formally conclude them.

A final aspect of the individual's role in ceremonialism stems from the countless unique circumstances of age, sex, kinship, or accident, which brings it about that one is the grieving widow of the deceased chief, the responsible host of a potlatch because one's face was cut in a brawl, or the humble recipient of a Hudson's Bay blanket. The presence of such deeply significant personal situations and reactions must be clearly noted, but can hardly be treated adequately within the more abstract analysis of ceremonialism which we have attempted.

CONCLUSIONS

The chief theme of this paper has been the way in which Tlingit ceremonialism serves to strengthen and reaffirm basic social groupings, even at the expense of conflicting loyalties. Many other aspects remain to be studied for a full understanding of the history and function of the ceremonies. For example, Raven and the mythical Gonaqadet are credited with originating many patterns of present-day potlatching. The stronger stress on symbolized warfare revealed in these accounts,[27] the present propensities towards hostility between guest sibs, the fact that the *nakani* are called "deer," that an arrow is sometimes used by song leaders instead of a paddle, the similarity between crest hats and war helmets, all suggest an intriguing relationship between the potlatch, the peace ceremony, and warfare, which should be more fully explored. Symbolic hostility expressed in the ceremonies of other Northwestern American tribes, as in Eskimo song contests, should be considered as part of this problem.

On a broader scale too, it may be noted that while "Secret Society" dances had begun to appear in the southern Tlingit area at the time of Swanton's visit in 1904,[28] they made no further headway. We have heard one report of a chief's son at Sitka who "went cannibal crazy" from time to time, but always before a limited gathering of old men. Does this mean that southern ceremonial patterning which was based more completely on sodality organization could not fit easily into the strongly kin-structured ceremonialism of the north? Or having differing economic factors or supernatural beliefs or other causes been more important in producing the divergent types of ceremonial activity? Northwest Coast ceremonialism remains a field for fruitful research, both in terms of single culture groups such as the Tlingit and of the broader Northwest Coast culture area as a whole.

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27 Swanton, *Tlingit Myths*, pp. 16-17, 82-83, 107, 117-119, 170-173.
28 Swanton, *Social Condition*, p. 436.

THE STRUCTURE AND CAUSATION OF MOHAVE WARFARE

GEORGE H. FATHAUER

THE YUMAN TRIBES of the lower Colorado River long have been regarded as warlike, nationalistic peoples. The Mohave clearly manifested these characteristics. Virtually all students of the Mohave, including the early explorers, testify either directly or indirectly to the existence of tribal organization and a strong sense of tribal unity among these people. Kroeber states that the Mohave thought of themselves as a national entity, a conception quite different from the village solidarity which characterized most of California.[1] Devereux also notes the "earnest and intense national feeling of the Mohave."[2] Early explorers indicate that this nationalistic tribal organization existed prior to White contact.

Mohave tribal organization was based upon a number of factors such as language, territory, mythology, ceremonial organization, clan beliefs, and external relations. Warfare, which falls in the last category, had its form determined in large part by the tribal organization; but it was, at the same time, one of the factors producing and maintaining this organization.

The warlike proclivities of the Yuman tribes, especially the Mohave, have been noted by several writers. Kroeber, for example, says ". . . the petty Californian feuds of locality and inherited revenge have given way among the Mohave to a military spirit, under which the tribe acted as a unit in offensive and defensive enterprise."[3] Castetter and Bell say that war ". . . was a characteristic feature of River Yuman culture which provided their nationalistic sense its most concrete expression; actually for them it was a nationalized sport."[4] Stewart has recently provided an excellent description of Mohave warfare.[5] It is the purpose of this paper to supplement Stewart's report, to elaborate upon the connections between warfare and other aspects of the culture, and to consider the causes of warfare in this society.

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1 A. L. Kroeber, *Handbook of the Indians of California* (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 78, 1925), p. 727.

2 G. Devereux, *Mohave Culture and Personality* (Character and Personality, vol. 8, pp. 91-109, 1939), p. 100.

3 Kroeber, *loc. cit.*

4 E. F. Castetter and W. H. Bell, *Yuman Indian Agriculture* (Albuquerque, 1951), p. 41.

5 K. M. Stewart, *Mohave Warfare* (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 3, pp. 257-278, 1947).

DESCRIPTION OF MOHAVE WARFARE

The Mohave were usually allied with the Yuma in tribal warfare. Their chief enemies were the Maricopa, Cocopa, and Halchidhoma. Occasional fighting was carried on against the Ute, Paiute, Northern Chemehuevi, Diegueño, Pima, Kohuana, and Apache. Friendly relations were generally maintained with the Walapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai.

When warfare was imminent, the braves *(k^{w}anami)*, who were scattered throughout the valley, became important tribal officials. The scalper *(axwe satumac)*, the major war leader, always accompanied large war parties. Guiding the expeditions were the spies *(matevawe)*. The custodian of the scalps *(k^{w}axot)* was the major religious official. He did not go on the warpath but presided at the victory celebrations and cared for the scalps and female prisoners brought back by the warriors. Before engaging in warfare these officials held a conference in which they also solicited the opinions of some of the wise old men of the tribe.

Once the decision to go to war was made, the spies suggested the best route for the expedition. Then runners were dispatched to all parts of the valley to tell the men to assemble at a particular place and time, usually in late October or early November after the harvest. Ordinarily the men came to the southern part of the valley accompanied by their families, who sang funeral songs since their loved ones might not return. The war party then left the valley and travelled toward the enemy, following the route prescribed by the spies who constantly scouted ahead and along the line of march. Each warrior carried a small supply of food and water which was expected to last for several days. After the departure of the warriors, the custodian of the scalps informed the chief *(xanidal)*, who had theoretically ignored all preparations for war. The chief then urged the people to watch for omens concerning the success or failure of the expedition. If a star fell in the direction the party had taken, it meant a victory; if it fell in the opposite direction, it meant defeat. Individuals also watched for omens indicating death to their loved ones: dreaming of an owl, for example, meant the death of a relative.

If the expedition encountered a small group of the enemy, a spy rushed in to touch an opponent with one of the feathered poles which functioned as standards in Mohave warfare. Following this, one of the clubbers killed the foe. Sometimes a party was satisfied with destroying a small number of the enemy. At other times, the initial killings merely announced the arrival of the Mohave party in the enemy's territory. Then preparations for battle were made. The spies frequently performed feats of bravery in their search for information about the strength of the enemy during the night before the main battle. In-

formants said that spies sometimes invaded the camp of the enemy, even going inside their houses in the darkness, leaving again at sunrise with their hair hanging in strands in front of their faces to prevent recognition.

In addition to the spies, the Mohave army was divided into a large number of bowmen and clubbers. The latter were the braves, equipped with great war clubs which they used to smash heads or faces of the enemy. The clubbers formed the center of the Mohave line. The bowmen, who were not braves but "common people" since they had not dreamed special war power, laid down a barrage of arrows from the flanks while the clubbers advanced upon the enemy in the center. The men on the flanks attempted to surround the enemy so that as many as possible could be eliminated. The scalper directed the fighting from the rear. The clubbers did most of the obvious damage since several arrow wounds were usually required to kill a person. Hence, the clubbers were usually the only men who could claim individually to have killed an enemy.

Stories and old accounts say that the Mohave demonstrated great courage and a strong will to fight until a decision had been reached. The conclusion of the battle found the victorious army in possession of the field, and the scalper then scalped several dead enemies. A few young females were sometimes taken as prisoners to be placed under the care of the scalper on the return journey. On the way back to the home valley, the scalper "tamed" the scalps and kneaded them to make them pliable. Runners were dispatched to the custodian of the scalps so that preparations for the scalp dance might be started.

The *k*^{w}*axot* notified the other members of the tribe and a great feast was prepared near his house. When the party reached the valley, the scalper turned the scalps and prisoners over to the *k*^{w}*axot*, who was their custodian from that time on. Then the people placed white clay on their hair and the dancing began. The rest of the day was devoted to dancing, singing, shouting, and feasting. The members of the war party and their wives fasted for four days but were not barred from the dancing and singing.

The next morning all the singers gathered in a circle. The *k*^{w}*axot* placed the scalps on a pole which was given to a woman called, in honor of the occasion, the *yakatha'alya*, who danced with them, imitating the scalping and the acts of battle and poking fun at able-bodied young men who had not gone on the warpath. At certain junctures in the dancing, the scalps were raised high in the air and all the people shouted and threw dust on them. This was done eight times to the accompaniment of different songs. During the feasting the people threw corn and beans to the scalps. Following this the *k*^{w}*axot* placed the scalps in a large olla for safekeeping.

He then addressed the throng, urging the young people to marry and have lots of children so that the tribe would grow. It was expected that the people would enjoy themselves sexually during the four days of the celebration. During the ceremony a family having a virgin daughter—a rare occurrence even among very young girls—sometimes gave her in marriage to one of the braves, especially one who had just proved his power by killing an enemy. The female captives were given by the *k*^{w}*axot* to old men who did not have wives. Young and middle-aged men were afraid to marry these women because of the "enemy sickness" that they brought with them, but the old men were anxious to have them since the sickness had little dread for those who did not expect to live long under the best of circumstances. The *k*^{w}*axot* kept the scalps, examining them periodically and washing their hair with mud whenever necessary. Each time they were washed, the entire tribe gathered for a celebration similar to the one just described. One informant stated that the washing of the scalps was an annual event, but others maintained that the condition of the scalps and the wishes of the *k*^{w}*axot* were the factors determining the intervals between these celebrations.

The tribal military organization also had a defensive aspect. The spies constantly maintained a vigil to prevent surprise attacks. At all tribal gatherings, such as mourning ceremonies or harvest feasts, the spies went out and guarded all water holes and trails leading to the area. If an enemy succeeded in penetrating the valley and killed a member of the tribe, the nearest *k*^{w}*anami* notified the other braves through a system of runners and then set out in pursuit. The other warriors joined the hunt as soon as possible and sometimes caught the invaders before they were able to get out of the territory. At a somewhat later date, the horse was adapted to this defense warning system. No mention of this system has appeared in the literature but the evidence for its existence seems to be fairly good.

The Mohave had few horses before the influx of White settlers, but some of them were used as part of an organized defense system. There were four horses, located in various parts of the valley, which were kept ready for emergency use at all times. They were well-trained, well-fed, and not used for any other purpose. As an informant phrased it, "These horses guarded the whole valley." In case of enemy attack, a brave or one of the spies rode to other parts of the valley to warn the entire tribe of the danger and to call the men together. The message was relayed the entire length of the valley by means of the four horses. These horses were also used to carry notice of a death to distant relatives. The names of the first horses used in this manner, in order of their location from north to

south, are said to have been *axat ak*^{w}*ere* (horse, red paint), *axat uce* (horse, charcoal), *axat katel* (horse, swaybacked), and *n*^{y}*apo k*^{w}*iðuye* (colored eye).

Some indirect confirmation of this pattern may be found in a report of one of the early White visitors to the valley.

> The valley of this river must be thickly peopled, for on both shores, as far as we could see, appeared these signs of human habitation. We had not ridden far in this plain, when two Indians mounted on magnificent stallions, came galloping towards us, and we were even more struck by the beauty of these evidently well-kept steeds, perfect models of horses as they were, than by that of the young riders who guided them merely with a hair cord. With the exception of these two, we never saw but one horse during our stay on the Colorado, and all three seemed to be regarded rather in the light of things sacred than as intended for use. They were petted and fed by everyone who came near them, so that it was no wonder if they appeared in good condition; and when I tried to persuade the Indians to sell me one, they only laughed at me, and overwhelmed their darlings with caresses. The horses were young, but appeared to have belonged to this nation from their infancy.[6]

This description is, indirectly at least, in accord with the pattern described by informants. Strangers visiting the valley would have been scouted by the spies and braves using the specially trained horses kept available for this purpose. In summary, it appears that Mohave warfare, both offensively and defensively, was characterized by rather detailed organization and was tribal in scope.

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF WARFARE

The previous description has indicated the statuses in Mohave social structure which were most directly concerned with warfare, namely, brave, scalper, and custodian of the scalps. These statuses may now be described in greater detail together with the methods by which they were occupied. According to Mohave theory, all special talents or abilities were derived from the creators by dreaming. Dream experiences were not actively sought but came automatically to certain individuals in each generation. The importance of dreaming was adequately stated years ago:

> Dreams . . . are the foundation of Mohave life; and dreams throughout are cast in mythological mold. There is no people whose activities are more shaped by this psychic state, or what they believe to be such, and none whose civilization is so completely, so deliberately reflected in their myths.[7]

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6 B. Möllhausen, *Diary of a Journey from the Mississippi to the Coasts of the Pacific* (London, 1858), vol. 2, p. 254.

7 Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 755.

A future *k*^{w}*anami*, or brave, experienced a power-dream early in his boyhood, or sometimes allegedly before birth. As with all Mohave power-dreams, there was a strong mythological component. The future *k*^{w}*anami* dreamed of a test that occurred after the death of the Great Spirit, *Matavil*^{v}, at a place somewhat north of Parker. At this time, "there were no people but the people were birds." Cactus plants were set in line and a test was held to see which bird could pick them up in the shortest time. The chicken-hawk won the contest and was honored as *k*^{w}*anami*. To quote one informant: "The chicken-hawk is the bravest and quickest of all the birds and humans. He doesn't give up when he is sent out—he kills people by attacking them when they are blinded by the sun. Any man who can see this by dreaming will be a *k*^{w}*anami*." In the creation myth recorded by Kroeber, *Mastamxo*, the successor to *Matavil*^{v}, decreed that several species of hawks were to be concerned with warfare, and instructed them in the art of battle.[8] Certain boys dreamed of these mythological incidents, and of chicken-hawks and chicken-hawk feathers. These dreams gave them the power to become braves.

The people were able to recognize a future *k*^{w}*anami* by his behavior. He was a brave, aggressive boy. When a child was punished by such methods as being poked on the forehead with a finger nail or jabbed with a hot stick, the oldsters would regard his reactions as an indication of his powers. A future *k*^{w}*anami* would never cry nor would he change the disapproved behavior. Nor was he fond of playing farmer or hunter with the other boys, but frequently went off alone to make bows and arrows and hunt for chicken-hawks. The future braves hardened their bodies by running and staying out of doors in all kinds of weather. On the basis of these characteristic behavior traits it was usually possible for the people to recognize a potential brave. The Mohave attitude was that a boy behaved in this way because he had experienced a particular power-dream rather than that a boy with aggressive tendencies would probably make a good warrior. The older people commented upon the behavior of the children, discussing their probable future activities. It is not surprising, then, that a boy regarded by his relatives as destined to be a warrior would taken an interest in the activities of warfare, would gradually come to pattern his behavior according to cultural expectations, and would actually experience the prescribed dreams. Devereux has described a similar process for Mohave shamans.[9]

During adolescence the power-dreams recurred, and a young brave began to

8 A. L. Kroeber, *Seven Mohave Myths* (Anthropological Records, University of California, vol. 11, no. 1, 1948), pp. 61-62.

9 Devereux, *Mohave Culture and Personality*, p. 107.

prepare for the warpath. He increased his training and began to paint a black stripe across his face and to wear two chicken-hawk feathers in his hair. Finally, when a war expedition was formed, the leaders allowed the young brave to go. On his first war party, the young man stayed in the middle of the line watching for the chance to kill an enemy or to rush into the fray to pick up one of the feather poles which had been dropped. If he succeeded in killing an enemy, his status was confirmed; from this time on he was recognized as a full-fledged brave, an important person in the tribe. According to Mohave theory, the killing of an enemy did not make a person a brave but merely confirmed the power-dreams which destined him to prowess in war.

Various informants offered somewhat contradictory accounts of the behavior of young braves. Some maintained that they were quite "mean," but not in exactly the same way as shamans. The obstreperousness of shamans, involving scatalogical and sexual elements, has been described in several papers by Devereux.[10] The following examples of the braves' "mean" behavior were given by informants. When it was cold and the people of the household were gathering wood for a fire, the *k*^{w}*anami* did not help, saying that he could endure the cold without fire. When staying at someone else's house, a brave sometimes removed the cover from the door so that it became very cold inside. If a brave encountered some boys who had a fire going, he would throw water on it. A brave might kick dirt into the water supply of a household. Braves frequently got into fights at dances and ceremonies by throwing sand on someone who was not dancing very well. The people believed that because of his dreams such a man could not help acting in this way, and they felt that he would improve his behavior as he got older and had considerable war experience. Other informants contradicted this picture by contending that young braves were well-behaved and quiet "because they knew they were going to die." Both groups of informants agreed upon the braves' courage and ability to withstand pain.

This discrepancy in the accounts given by different informants may be due to misunderstandings which are difficult to clear up because the warfare pattern has not been directly observed by people living today. The informants who said the braves "acted mean" maintained that this behavior ended after they had been on several war parties. Those informants who said the braves were "quiet" may not have been as precise in their account, thus overlooking this transitory period. A second possibility is that the informants may not have had the same

10 G. Devereux, *Sexual Life of the Mohave Indians* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1935); *idem, L'envoutement chez les Indiens Mohave* (Journal, Société des Americanistes de Paris, vol. 29, pp. 405-412, 1937).

idea of what constituted mean and obstreperous behavior. Those who denied "meanness" may have been intent upon differentiating the braves from shamans, whose behavior involved extremely obstreperous elements. Since the braves sometimes killed evil shamans who had bewitched people, they represented the forces of good which were opposed to the shamans. Thus the milder "meanness" of the braves might well have been ignored by some informants.

As a matter of fact there were several points of similarity between shamans and braves. Both showed institutionalized suicidal tendencies. Kroeber describes the behavior of shamans and braves as follows:

> Doctors are despatched for blighting the crops; for repeatedly attending a patient but killing instead of curing him; for having said about a sick person: "I wish you would die"; and for admitting responsibility for deaths. There is a doctor now who stands at funerals and says aloud: "I killed him." Doctors and brave men are alike. The latter say: "I do not wish to live long." A doctor says: "I shall not live a long time. I wish to die. That is why I kill people. Why do you not kill me?" Or he may hand a stick to a man and say: "I killed your father." Or he may come and tell a sick person: "Don't you know that it is I that am killing you? Must I grasp you and despatch you with my hands before you will try to kill me?"[11]

Both shamans and braves also received special treatment in the afterworld, a belief related to suicidal tendencies. When dead, people went to the afterworld and then underwent several metamorphoses, eventually winding up as charcoal on the desert.

> He [a shaman] segregates these dead souls [whom he has bewitched] "in his place," their souls visiting him at night and, if of the suitable sex, having intercourse with him (or her). Eventually he will come to fear that another witch may kidnap his retinue of souls, and/or he will long for their constant presence. As a result he will taunt the relatives of his victims, by confessing to witchcraft, whereupon the witch is killed. It must be stated that a witch only kills those whom he loves, except when acting as a paid agent of someone who wishes to put a personal enemy out of the way.[12]

Braves went to a separate place in the afterworld, located on the desert, where, as one informant phrased it, "they live always preparing to go to war—they make dust day and night." Informants also said that men killed in battle by the enemy went to a separate place (probably the place already mentioned, since only braves engaged in the hand-to-hand combat that was likely to result in death). A brave who had lost a well-loved relative or friend in war went on the revenge party and frequently exposed himself to great danger, performing unusual deeds of

11 Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 778.

12 G. Devereux, *Primitive Psychiatry* (Bulletin of the History of Medicine, vol. 11, pp. 522-542, 1942), p. 530. Brackets mine.

heroism. The brave knew that death in battle meant reunion with the beloved friend or relative in the special place set aside in the afterworld. If his death were too long delayed, the relative might have metamorphosed into the next stage, thus making a reunion in the afterworld impossible.

This seems to indicate that people who dreamed strong powers connected with violence, witchcraft, or warfare were different from ordinary people. With regard to the discrepancy over the behavior of young braves, this material suggests that those informants who said that braves were "mean" were correct. However, their "meanness" was milder and did not last as long as that of shamans.

All informants agreed upon the "goodness" of old braves who were no longer able to go to war. The retired braves travelled around a great deal, helping people and giving advice to the younger men. If a woman could not take care of her family because of illness, an old brave would go and cook for the household. Cooking was defined as a female activity, but these old and respected warriors were willing to undertake this menial task. The old braves also acted as peacemakers in neighborhood quarrels or in the event of dissension between husband and wife. One informant described an old *k*^{w}*anami* interrupting a husband who was beating his wife severely by saying "if you want to fight, you better pick on me—come on, I will fight you." This made the husband ashamed so that he stopped punishing the woman. All informants agreed that the behavior of a retired *k*^{w}*anami* was exceptionally good and kind. If those informants who maintained that a brave acted "mean" when he was young are correct, the extreme "goodness" of old braves climaxed a remarkable change in personality characteristics. Linton has described a somewhat similar change in the behavior of Comanche warriors.[13]

The status of spy *(matevawe)* also required an early power-dream. Under the stimulus of this dream certain young men spent a great deal of time acquiring a detailed knowledge of the country and increasing their ability to see in the dark and to run long distances. Apparently the temperamental characteristics of boys destined to be spies were not as distinctive as those for braves, because the people could not tell a future spy until adolescence when he began to train himself for this position. The Mohave apparently expected a spy's son to follow in his father's footsteps. Sons were in the best position to learn the detailed knowledge of the country from their fathers; but if they did not have the proper power-dream, their knowledge was of no avail. They felt, however, that the son would probably have the right dream. As a young adult, the spy began to talk with the other occupants of this status. When a war expedition was contemplated,

13 R. Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York and London, 1936), pp. 120-121.

he volunteered to undertake the duties of spy. Then the people knew that he had dreamed correctly and was prepared to fill the position. The spies carried a small pipe and a pole decorated with white feathers. While evidence was extremely fragmentary on this point, some informants felt that the spy could locate water holes and the enemy by means of this pole.[14] The spies, who were regarded as very brave, were highly respected members of the tribe. No marked behavioral change was attributed to the spies in old age, but they were respected and their advice was accepted by the younger men actively engaged in warfare.

The statuses of scalper *(axwe satumac)* and custodian of the scalps *(kʷaxot)*, unlike those described above, were not exclusively limited to warfare, but related the war patterns to other aspects of Mohave life. The scalper, who was the leader of large expeditions, was also a shaman *(kʷathiðe)* who possessed the power to cure the "enemy sickness" which resulted from close contact with foreigners, and which pervaded the scalps until he began the process of "taming" them.[15]

The concept of "enemy sickness" reveals much about Mohave feelings of tribal solidarity. Their beliefs concerning tribal affiliation expressed a kind of "racist" philosophy. All members of the tribe were "one folk" for whom purity of the blood was always an important consideration. They had a strong interest in "increasing the tribe," thus perpetuating their connection with the creators and insuring the continued existence of a desirable way of life. As Devereux explains, "The Mohave assume that every other tribe or race has a stronger blood than their own. . . ."[16] Any intimate contact will produce the dreaded disease.

The scalper was also in charge of the mourning ceremonies held for braves and other important tribal officials. In this capacity he spoke in the "spirit language," being called *axwe cukʷarəkwi kusumanʸ*, and cured people who fainted during the ceremony or violated the taboos in connection with it. The connection of the scalper with the mourning ceremony is made clearer when it is realized that the ceremony itself consisted largely of a ritual enactment of warfare.[17]

The shamanistic aspect of the scalper needs some comment at this point. Informants referred to him both as "doctor" and "war leader." His curative powers

14 Stewart, *Mohave Warfare*, p. 268. Stewart indicates that the rattlesnake doctor was the person who could locate water.

15 *Idem*, pp. 261-269. Stewart does not regard the scalper as the war leader. My informants called him "the leader of the *kʷanami*." His position as director of the mourning ceremony seems to fit with this interpretation. Small raiding parties were sometimes under the leadership of a brave since the scalper did not go on all war parties, but large tribal forays were under his direction. This may partially account for the disagreement among informants.

16 Devereux, *Sexual Life of the Mohave Indians*, p. 81.

17 K. M. Stewart, *An Account of the Mohave Mourning Ceremony* (American Anthropologist, vol. 49, pp. 146-149, 1947), p. 146.

were over the "enemy sickness" which pervaded the scalps and prisoners, and which afflicted the violators of taboos connected with the mourning ceremony. The symptoms of the disease were fainting or "crazy" behavior. Mohave shamans ordinarily practiced witchcraft, having the power for either good or evil over a particular disease. Most informants said that the scalper did not bewitch people, even though he was a shaman. A minority opinion, however, held that he occasionally practiced witchcraft. In this connection, the suggestion offered in a previous paper concerning the connection between the "ghost doctor" *(nʷavðisumac)* and scalper may be relevant.[18] It seems possible that the scalper sometimes also dreamed the power necessary to be a ghost doctor, thus accounting for his occasional practice of witchcraft. The connection between the ghost doctor and the scalper is in need of further clarification.

The scalper was also said to have possessed certain powers to raise clouds of dust or to bring rain which were sometimes used against the enemy on war expeditions. Kroeber describes this power in the creation myth wherein *Mastamxo* said: "When you speak there will be wind and rain and dust. I want you to tell about fighting: I want you to direct war."[19]

The scalper did not manifest any particularly distinctive characteristics in childhood, behaving like other boys who had dreamed strong power. He did not assume the status of scalper until about middle age, because the power of the "enemy sickness" would have shortened his life had he started to use his powers as a young man. As an old man, no longer able to go on the warpath, he retired and was succeeded by a man who had dreamed appropriately. The retired scalper gave advice on war matters and was highly respected. He was said to have behaved in a helpful, friendly, generous manner. In summary, the major war leader was a man who had dreamed the power to cure "enemy sickness," to take and "tame" scalps, and to direct the mourning ceremonies held in honor of braves.

The power to function as *kʷaxot*, custodian of the scalps and the principal tribal religious leader, came in a dream shortly after birth. In the imitation of the adult world enacted by children, a boy who was to be *kʷaxot* was usually a leader. Such a boy acted quietly and appeared mature for his age. During adolescence he watched the techniques of the *kʷaxot* closely and sometimes told him of his dreams. A man did not undertake the duties of this status until he was at least middle-aged. It was felt that a man assuming the status of custodian of the scalps while still young would have his life shortened because of the "enemy

18 G. Fathauer, *The Mohave Ghost Doctor* (American Anthropologist, vol. 53, pp. 605-607, 1951).

19 Kroeber, *Seven Mohave Myths*, p. 61.

sickness" of the scalps and prisoners. As pointed out in the description of the warfare pattern, the custodian of the scalps constantly lectured the people, urging them to be "good" and to think of the welfare of the tribe. He also urged the young people to have many children so that the tribe would be perpetuated. After the death of a *k*ʷ*axot,* all the scalps that had been in his possession were destroyed. On the fourth day after his death, the *yakathaʿalya* decorated themselves (there were usually two) with paint and feathers. Then, with two old men leading the way, they walked about the area singing of the scalps. After this had been done four times, the old men took the scalps and carried them into the river.

A full understanding of the symbolism of the scalps has not appeared in published reports on the Mohave. The writer is not completely satisfied with the data he obtained in the field, but certain aspects of the problem have been clarified. The scalps were dangerous to ordinary people since they were permeated with the "enemy sickness" and only individuals who had dreamed special powers could deal with them. The scalps were felt to bring good luck and power to the younger generation, and their display was attended by considerable euphoria and intensified courting activities. There was a strong ritual connection between the scalps and the theme of tribal fertility. A certain amount of anthropomorphic treatment of these trophies was also reported. During the feasting, corn and beans were thrown to the scalps; the relatives of dead Mohave warriors sometimes "treated the scalps mean," venting their anger by mocking them and throwing dust upon them. The scalps appear to have been dangerous trophies of tribal power whose display produced a feeling of tribal unity and confidence. Forde says that the Yuma sometimes took the scalps on a war party to insure success against the same enemy, but this was not reported by the Mohave.[20]

Although they were tribal symbols, there was a specific connection between the *k*ʷ*axot* and the scalps in his keeping since they were discarded upon his death. This is understandable in the light of the Mohave feeling that the important officials were tribal representatives who achieved their power by dreaming. Although the scalps "belonged" to a particular custodian, they were tribal symbols, since the custodian himself was a tribal functionary, given his power by the creators for the benefit of the entire tribe.

It is clear that the status of *k*ʷ*axot* formed the nexus of two great themes of Mohave life: warfare and tribal continuity through fertility. The scalper, who was also a shaman, exemplified the connection between warfare and the Mohave "racist" philosophy in which non-contamination with foreign blood was always a

20 C. D. Forde, *Ethnography of the Yuma Indians* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 28, no. 4, 1931), p. 168.

primary consideration. Warfare was a means of demonstrating tribal prowess and superiority to other tribes. Thus the statuses of *k*^{w}*axot* and *axwe satumac* formed the structural connections for three extremely important themes of Mohave life: warfare, sickness, and tribal continuity through fertility.

The minor status of *yakatha'alya* needs little discussion. As seen above, this status was occupied by females. They danced at the scalp ceremonies and shamed the men who had not gone on the warpath. In order to occupy this position a dream was necessary, but it was not a very powerful one, according to informants. The position was not an important one but it did serve to give expression to the female interest in the activity of warfare. The women were no less proud of Mohave prowess than men, and they demonstrated it by heaping scorn upon able-bodied men who had not gone to war.

A brief word about the status of chief *(xanidal)* is necessary before concluding this discussion. As indicated earlier in this paper, the chief was excluded from warlike activities. This may not be an accurate reflection of aboriginal conditions. The status of *xanidal* apparently did not exist prior to fairly extensive White contact. According to several informants, the first chief was chosen after the Whites came, when it became necessary to deal with them. The status was fitted into the aboriginal pattern, but not completely, since, although the chief was supposed to dream his power, the office also became hereditary. The first chief was selected because he was "lucky" in his dealings with the Whites. It appears probable that the status of chief represented an elaboration of the rather vaguely defined status of *pataxan,* local group leader.

The Mohave lived in small settlements scattered throughout the valley. The nucleus of a settlement was a patrilocal extended family, of which the male head had considerable prestige as the representative of his people. These local group leaders formed an informal council which deliberated about important tribal affairs. The *k*^{w}*axot* was the main tribal leader, performing religious functions that contributed to tribal integration. The scalper was also a tribal official, since only one man occupied this status at any one time. The braves, who were scattered throughout the valley, had some local autonomy in dealing with raids and small revenge parties. The *k*^{w}*axot* and scalper were in charge of tribal war expeditions as revealed by the fact that scalps could not be taken in the absence of the scalper and that the *k*^{w}*axot* cared for these trophies in the interest of the entire tribe. The status of chief, then, developed as a result of the necessity of dealing with the Whites in an organized manner. The principal tribal status of religious leadership, *k*^{w}*axot,* declined in importance rapidly when the culture began to change under the impact of Whites. The new status of chief lacked

the connections with religion and war that characterized that of *k*^{w}*axot*, and appears to have been based upon the status of *pataxan*, or local group leader. There is considerable doubt that the sharp separation between war and peace activities represented by the complete divorce of the chief from warfare is an old, pre-white Mohave pattern.

In concluding this summary of the main statuses concerned with warfare, it should be stated that several of these positions might occasionally have been occupied by the same person. Sometimes a brave was also a spy, and, more rarely, a shaman. The scalper might also have been a brave in some cases. Likewise a *pataxan* was sometimes a shaman or a brave. The ultimate determinant of the statuses a man would occupy depended upon his dreams. As a general rule, however, a person occupied only one of the major tribal statuses, the tribal structure, as outlined above being fairly clear and definite.

CAUSES OF WARFARE

To ask, in general terms, "Why did the Mohave engage in warfare?" is likely to reveal more about recent Western European culture than about Mohave culture. The question indicates our instrumental conception of war: that it is a means to an end—an instrument of national policy designed to achieve certain economic or political goals. We also believe that war is not inevitable and that a state of continuous peace is conceivable.

The Mohave did not regard warfare in this way. Their conception of war was largely non-instrumental: it was an end in itself. The typical response of Mohave informants attempting to convey an understanding of almost any aspect of their culture was to narrate the parts of the origin myth pertaining to the subject of inquiry, and war was no exception. Warfare was instituted by *Mastamxo*, who decreed that certain people in each generation would experience power-dreams connected with it.[21] For the Mohave, then, warfare was a constant, inevitable part of their total way of life. Of course they recognized certain motivations for specific instances of warfare, but these were subordinated in their thinking to a generalized conception of war as an end in itself decreed at the creation of society. This Mohave answer is not likely to satisfy the instrumentally oriented social scientist. Consequently, a consideration of the possible psychological and sociological factors, both conscious and unconscious, which motivated Mohave warfare will be undertaken.

One of the most specific and conscious causes of war was defense against an enemy attack. Although these were usually small engagements, sometimes

21 Kroeber, *Seven Mohave Myths*, pp. 57-58.

there was sufficient warning to permit a large fighting force, tribal in scope, to meet the enemy. The evidence indicates, however, that the Mohave were more frequently the aggressors rather than defenders. Another frequent cause of war was revenge. Sometimes a large expedition set out to avenge the death or capture of a fellow tribesman. More frequently small parties went out at the instigation of a relative of the person killed by the enemy. A brave would not rest until he took revenge upon the tribe responsible for the death of one of his relatives or friends.

Another stimulus for a war party was the desire for prestige on the part of young men who had dreamed the power to be braves. Such young men would try to get an experienced brave to lead a small raiding expedition or might even persuade the scalper to lead a tribal foray against the enemy. Sometimes a young brave killed a captive who was living among the Mohave "to prove his desire for war." The braves were men of great prestige who felt that they were destined to fight and die in battle. They were anxious for war in order to demonstrate their superiority over the "common people." This was probably a rather important motivation for war among the Mohave. An elite group, dependent upon war for their prestige, constantly tried to "keep things stirred up" so that they could demonstrate their prowess and fulfill their destiny.

Alliances, principally with the Yuma, constituted another reason for sending out a tribal war party. Kroeber mentions a Mohave expedition that joined the Yuma, at their invitation, to attack the Cocopa.[22] Another reason for going to war, from the Mohave point of view, was to take scalps and capture prisoners. Kroeber mentions a *k*^{w}*axot* who requested his relatives to go on a war party and to bring back several female captives to him.[23] The captives could have had little economic importance. They were usually given as wives to old men, which may have been a way of keeping the oldsters in favor of frequent warfare as well as increasing tribal fertility. The main reason for desiring scalps and prisoners was probably religious. At any rate, the desire for scalps and prisoners appears to have been an important reason for going to war as indicated by several myths recorded by Kroeber.[24]

Modern thinking about warfare usually stresses the causal importance of economic factors. The Mohave and the Yuma waged such constant warfare against the Halchidhoma and Kohuana that these groups left the Colorado River valley and joined the Maricopa on the Gila early in the nineteenth century. One in-

22 Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 745.
23 *Idem*, p. 746.
24 Kroeber, *Seven Mohave Myths*, pp. 34, 39, 61.

formant vaguely suggested that a reason for this continuous harassment was that the Mohave and Yuma desired to hunt in their territory. One of Stewart's informants also suggested a possible economic reason for driving out the inhabitants of the valley around Parker, saying, "I don't know why the Mohave did it—I guess they wanted to hog everything like the Whites."[25]

The first of these suggestions does not seem to provide an adequate explanation because hunting was the least important subsistence activity of the Mohave. Furthermore, the Mohave apparently did not move down into Halchidhoma territory for a considerable time after they departed for the Gila. Sometimes a successful Mohave expedition drove the enemy out of their territory. The Mohave would live there for a time—several months in some instances—but then would return to the Mohave valley. They did not plant crops on enemy land, nor attempt to occupy it permanently. Furthermore, the Mohave were under no compulsion to increase their supply of food by acquiring new land. As a matter of fact, they made no attempt to utilize their own land to its potential capacity. Castetter and Bell flatly state: "River Yuman warfare never had an economic objective since enemy crops were not destroyed or confiscated."[26]

At an earlier period in Mohave history there may have been an important economic motivation for the warfare necessary to secure the fertile river valley. Kroeber has published one of the "Great Tales" which describes the invasion and final occupation of the valley by the Mohave.[27] One of the motivations of the leaders of this movement was the desire to take the valley so that crops could be grown and the people would have plenty to eat. At this period, at least as described by the Mohave "Great Tale," there may have been an important economic motive behind warfare. However, once the valley was permanently occupied, there seem to have been no further imperialistic adventures.

Kroeber suggests that another element of possible historical reality to be found in the "Great Tale" was the shifting back and forth between the river and desert habitat and subsistence.[28] It is possible that famine due to inadequate flooding of the river sometimes sent the Mohave out of the valley in search of other food in the desert. This may be thought to have led to warfare, but the fact is that the Mohave almost never fought with the desert tribes such as the Chemehuevi, or the hunting and gathering Walapai of the valley to the northeast. Indeed, a look at the groups against whom they traditionally fought does not

25 Stewart, *Mohave Warfare*, p. 257.

26 Castetter and Bell, *Yuman Indian Agriculture*, p. 250.

27 A. L. Kroeber, *A Mohave Historical Epic* (Anthropological Records, University of California, vol. 11, no. 2, 1951).

28 *Idem*, p. 119.

seem to reveal much in the way of an economic motive. The Cocopa were a favorite foe, but there seems to have been no realistic attraction in either land or crops since their location is far to the south and not adjacent to Mohave territory. Fighting was likewise carried on against the Maricopa and Halchidhoma who were located on the Gila River, much too far away for their territory to have been economically exploited by the Mohave. The evidence, therefore, leads to the conclusion that, except for the period in which the valley was being occupied, economic reasons for Mohave warfare were quite unimportant, if indeed they existed at all.

A psychological motivation for Mohave warfare suggested by Kroeber is that it was a kind of sport, engaged in as a relief from boredom.[29] The evidence indicates that, for the braves at least, warfare was their main object in life and that they became restive after a period of inactivity. Furthermore, the people as a whole gained a great deal of vicarious satisfaction from war and its associated activities as evidenced by the high prestige of braves, the scalp dance, the encouragement of war by women, and the emphasis on war in myths and stories. Stewart comments on the obsessive interest of the braves in warfare, but he suggests that the people as a whole were pacifically inclined.[30]

A further indication that some might not have regarded war as a "game" comes from an account given by Curtis of the division of the tribe around 1857, when part of them moved from the Mohave valley south to the reservation at Parker. The chief, who refused to move, desired to retain the old culture as much as possible. The leader of the Parker group was friendlier to the Whites and wished to arrive at a better accommodation with them. This leader is quoted as follows:

> Wake up in the night, hear the owl hoot, run to the mesquite. No good. In morning look out, far off see a cloud of dust (a sign of a war party), run to the mesquite. No good. All tribes same color, all tribes brothers. Live in peace, have farms, plenty to eat. That good.[31]

How far this attitude represented the disintegration of the culture is hard to say. It seems likely, however, that some of the "ordinary people" were not overly fond of the constant warfare that once characterized the Mohave. The fatalistic orientation of the culture apparently led them to accept it until marked changes occurred under conditions of acculturation.

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29 A. L. Kroeber, "Preface" (in G. Devereux, *Sexual Life of the Mohave Indians, op. cit.*)

30 Stewart, *Mohave Warfare*, p. 257.

31 E. S. Curtis, *The North American Indian* (12 vols., Cambridge, 1907-1922), vol. 2 [1908], p. 49. Parentheses mine.

The types of motivation thus far discussed provide, at best, a partial understanding of the place of warfare in the life of the Mohave. Fuller comprehension can be gained only by indicating the relationship of war to religion. In this respect the Mohave data lead to a conclusion similar to the one expressed by Forde in his study of the neighboring Yuma:

> Fighting was not justified merely as a virile pursuit, nor was economic need adduced as a factor; warfare to the Yuma possessed a strong mystical value as the means whereby the spiritual power of the entire tribe was enhanced and at the same time demonstrated.[32]

The origin myth was an expression of the basic philosophical premises of Mohave culture. It embodied the fatalistic belief that all behavior was determined by the patterns established by the creators. All power was received by dreaming, and it was the identical power which had been given by *Mastamxo* in the beginning. This resulted in a static conception of the universe. In each generation certain individuals automatically occupied the statuses which made up the social system, but the system itself remained unchanged. All of the important tribal officials were sacred specialists in the sense that they derived their power directly from the creators by means of unsought dream experiences.[33]

The religious implications of the scalps and scalp dances, as well as the position of the custodian of the scalps as the major religious leader, have already been discussed. It seems clear that the status of custodian of the scalps formed the nexus of two great themes of Mohave life, warfare and tribal fertility. The third important theme, sickness, was also related to warfare through the concept of "enemy sickness" and the status of scalper. It appears that the fullest comprehension of Mohave warfare results from regarding it as an expression of their nationalistic religious philosophy.

This interpretation throws light upon Stewart's hypothesis that the main reason for Mohave warfare was the obsessive behavior of the braves over whom the people had no control.[34] The reason for the obsessive desire for war on the part of the braves was religion, embodied in myth and perpetuated by unsought power-dreams. They had dreamed war power, and therefore it was their nature to want war. It also explains why they constantly were able to keep the tribe embroiled in war although some of the people may have been peacefully inclined. According to Mohave philosophy the specialists who dreamed power were tribal

32 Forde, *Ethnography of the Yuma Indians*, p. 161.

33 G. Fathauer, *Religion in Mohave Social Structure* (Ohio Journal of Science, vol. 51, pp. 273-276, 1951), p. 274.

34 Stewart, *Mohave Warfare*, p. 257.

representatives of *Mastamxo* in their generation. The people were dependent upon them to play the roles decreed by the creator. There was no direct, personal relationship with the supernatural for the average Mohave; the tribal officials did those things which were essential for the welfare of all. This was explicitly recognized by informants who said that the "common people"—meaning those who did not have important power-dreams—"did not try to do anything but just depended upon those who had good dreams." Thus, although some of the people may have disliked war, it was still a part of life decreed by *Mastamxo* and they had to make the best of it. The braves had dreamed war-power, thus it was their nature to fight, and the "common people" made no attempt to interfere, but participated in war as an expression of the tribal religion. The attitude was, and is, often manifested in the resignation of "these things come."

In a recent article Newcomb points out the necessity of distinguishing the causes of war from the reasons why individual men fight.[35] Such individual motivations of Mohave warfare as boredom, obsessive behavior, revenge, or the desire for prestige do not satisfactorily explain tribal wars. These motivations were expressions of the basic magico-religious system which must be regarded as the primary cause of Mohave warfare, although, of course, warfare in turn strengthened and reinforced the "nationalistic" religion. This would probably not be regarded as a satisfactory explanation from Newcomb's point of view. He states: "The particular forms which war may take are of course varied, but warfare everywhere and at all times is alike in one respect; it is motivated by economic need and the biological competition of societies, real or imagined, basic or otherwise."[36] Presumably, for Newcomb, Mohave warfare would have to be explained by factors such as a struggle with other peoples for good land or some other value in short supply.

The possibility of important economic motivation for war has been discussed above and largely discounted, except possibly in the early period when the fertile river valley was occupied. If the economic determinist position is adhered to, the interpretation would have to be that the warlike aspects of the religious system developed to support the economically motivated invasion of the valley. Then, becoming an end in itself, it was perpetuated as a kind of survival for a period of several centuries. While such a possibility cannot be absolutely denied, it seems rather far-fetched. The facts do not push one to such a conclusion.

By shifting the argument into the field of definition, one might question

35 W. W. Newcomb, *A Re-examination of the Causes of Plains Warfare* (American Anthropologist, vol. 52, pp. 317-330, 1950), p. 320.

36 *Idem*, p. 317.

whether or not Mohave combat was true warfare. It is probably helpful to distinguish feuds, or other fighting between families, clans, or gangs, from warfare which is carried on, according to the several definitions mentioned below, by "independent political units" or "societies." This would seem to require at least a tribal organization and a fairly strong sense of tribal unity, and would usually imply the existence of a set of specialized statuses centering about the activity of combat. Newcomb's definition is as follows: "In this paper, war will be treated as a type of armed conflict that takes place between societies, meeting in competition for anything that is valued by the groups involved, usually consisting of territory or certain products of this territory, such as good hunting grounds, oil-producing or agricultural lands."[37] By this definition, an economic motivation ordinarily must be found or the armed combat is not war. Malinowski has also offered a restricted definition of war: ". . . an armed contest between two independent political units, by means of organized military force, in the pursuit of a tribal or national policy."[38] In his analysis, Malinowski makes it clear that fighting motivated by glory or mystical systems is not to be considered true warfare.

Other writers have not defined warfare so narrowly. Speier, for example, has suggested three types of warfare: "absolute," or unrestricted and unregulated war in which the aim is to completely annihilate the enemy; "instrumental," or war carried on for economic or political advantage; and "agonistic," or war motivated by the symbolic value associated with victory.[39] Mohave warfare probably fits best in the third category. Schneider argues that the character of the social unit engaged in fighting is the crucial point in defining war. Organized fighting on a tribal scale is to be regarded as war and distinguished from feuds and from the desire for blood revenge upon an enemy instigated by the relatives of the deceased as a private matter, no action being taken by the tribe as a whole.[40] Wright distinguishes between "defensive," "social," "economic," and "political" war. Social war includes fighting for blood revenge, glory, sport, religion, etc.[41] According to these writers Mohave combat was warfare of the "agonistic" or "social" type rather than "instrumental" or "economic," but warfare nevertheless.

37 *Ibid.*

38 B. Malinowski, *An Anthropological Analysis of War* (American Journal of Sociology, vol. 46, pp. 521-550, 1941), p. 523.

39 H. Speier, *The Social Types of War* (American Journal of Sociology, vol. 46, pp. 445-454, 1941).

40 J. Schneider, *Primitive Warfare: a Methodological Note* (American Sociological Review, vol. 15, pp. 772-777, 1950).

41 Q. Wright, *A Study of War* (2 vols., Chicago, 1942), vol. 1, pp. 62, 546.

Another approach to the analysis of war has been followed by Turney-High, who relies chiefly upon a study of the degree of organization of the fighting itself. He states five conditions which are necessary for true war: (1) tactical operations; (2) definite command and control; (3) ability to conduct a campaign for the reduction of enemy resistance if the first battle fails; (4) the combat must have a group motive rather than an individual one, or even one based on kinship, since war is above the plane of feuds; (5) a surplus supply of food sufficient to sustain an army in the field.[42] Mohave fighting met these conditions, although, as compared with modern warfare, only in a rudimentary fashion. The Mohave practiced simple tactics under the command of specialists acting in the interests of the entire tribe. There was a division of the fighting force into bowmen for firepower, clubbers for shock, and spies for intelligence. From Turney-High's point of view Mohave fighting would seem to be classifiable as warfare, albeit of a simple kind.

In summary, if it be accepted that humans are capable of making choices, within limits imposed by the organic and inorganic world, and that values are the factors influencing choice, then the decision to fight or not to fight derives from the hierarchy of values presented to the members of a society largely through their culture. It must be remembered that values are of many kinds: economic, religious, artistic, familial, etc. If economic values are to motivate war, there must be a significant differential between their satisfaction under current conditions and a greater satisfaction believed to be achievable by conquest. Where, as in the river valleys of the region under discussion, there was substantially identical capability of satisfying material wants, wars were not likely to be fought for economic reasons. The Mohave, Yuma, Halchidhoma, Maricopa, and Cocopa all seem to have been about equally capable of meeting their material requirements, with none having a significant advantage of environment or culture. Indeed, if there was a slightly greater surplus produced by one of these tribes, it was probably the Mohave, the traditional aggressors, who had the advantage. Only if population pressure had been heavily felt, which it apparently was not, would there have been the likelihood of one of these tribes seeking to maximize material values by means of warfare.

In the Plains, as Newcomb has demonstrated, the introduction of horses, rifles, and other goods deriving originally from European culture did provide significant advantages for those who could control them. Warfare, in this case, was encouraged by the attempt to maximize economic values. In a more stable situation, such as characterized the lower Colorado River area, in which all tribes

42 H. H. Turney-High, *Primitive War* (Columbia, S. C., 1949), p. 30.

possessed substantially the same technical and environmental resources, a material differential sufficient to become a major incentive to war was lacking. Consequently, the activity of organized, inter-tribal fighting must have been motivated by other values.

From the standpoint of increasing our knowledge of human behavior, it seems wiser to seek the values which are actually motivating a widespread activity than to assume *a priori* that only one kind of value can be connected with it. A large part of our understanding of why men and societies fight must be eliminated by assuming that they fight only to maximize material values. The Mohave seem to represent a case in which tribal warfare, producing a number of specialized statuses, was not carried on primarily for economic reasons, but because it was inextricably bound up with the religious system of the society.

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THE DANCING RELIGION: A JAPANESE MESSIANIC SECT

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THE TENDENCY to form new sects[1] appears to be characteristic of Japan's religious enterprise, both past and present. This tendency again became prominent during the nineteenth century and continued into the 1930's despite governmental pressure which restrained the activities of new schizmatic groups and preserved their organizational dependence upon the three Christian, ten Buddhist, and thirteen Shintō sects recognized by the Ministry of Education. Those bodies which were not branches of established religions existed precariously before 1945 and were harassed by the police if their policies were believed to be in opposition to State Shintō and acknowledged standards of patriotism.

Today, religious freedom guaranteed by Japan's Constitution has allowed new sects to emerge and has made it possible for pre-war schizmatic bodies, numbering approximately one hundred, to become independent of their parent organizations. According to the Japanese Ministry of Education, there are now more than 750 religious groups.[2] Among the new religions are numerous bodies which were either independent of recognized sects before Japan's surrender or appeared for the first time during or shortly before the Occupation. The present sect, officially known as Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō (The Religion of the Absolute Almighty God), is one of the larger, more active religions of the latter group.

The founder of the Dancing Religion, *Odoru-Shūkyō*, is Mrs Sayo Kitamura, a farmer's wife. She states that her sect was officially established July 22, 1945 when she began to preach sermons in her home situated in the outskirts of Tabuse, Yamaguchi Prefecture, in southern Honshū. Her claim of being a Messiah with a divine status equal to that of Buddha and Jesus Christ, her adoption of prayers and other elements associated with Shintō and Buddhist sects, her bold denunciation of civil officials and religious leaders, and certain

1 Cf. Leopold von Wiese and Howard Becker, *Systematic Sociology* (New York: John Wiley, 1932), pp. 624-628. In this work ecclesia, sects, denominations, and cults are delineated. The sect is described as small, persecuted, isolated, ethical, and pacifist. One must join the sect, but not the cult which is more amorphous and less overt in religious behavior. The Dancing Religion by this definition is a sect but is cult-like to the extent that joining, *per se*, is not required. To supplement these definitions, it is proposed that schizmatic sects—those breaking away from ecclesia or denominations—be differentiated from non-schizmatic sects similar to the Dancing Religion which in their inception were by and large independent of other bodies.

2 Letter from the Religious Affairs Section, dated August 12, 1953.

customs of worship to which she and her followers adhere, have been criticized by lay and clerical groups within Japan. From time to time newspapers and magazines have publicized the sect but its description has usually been fragmentary and sensationalist rather than objective and comprehensive. It is also apparent that Western social scientists have given inadequate attention to this sect and to the post-war growth of new religions in general.[3]

To Mrs Kitamura and her followers all beliefs, all rituals, and most aspects of their sect's organization are of divine origin. The "secular" and "semi-sacred" aspects which surround the sacred core are therefore extremely vague in definition. Mrs Kitamura is *divine* according to her own asseverations; she is called *Ōgami-sama* (The Great Honorable Goddess) by her followers; and both she and her congregation sincerely believe that her utterances are the words of God. It is not in the scope of this study to challenge these claims or to dissect the sacred from the semi- or non-sacred part of her religion.[4]

To identify those religiously associated elements and blocks of elements which are non-sacred and empirically analyzable, and to isolate them from the sacred data is of dubious heuristic value since both the divine and the would-be secular function as a whole in Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō and are not imaged by either leader or follower as distinguishable or incompatible parts of their religion.

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3 The following are references apropos to the *shinkō shūkyō* or new religions. Masaharu Anesaki, *Religious Life of the Japanese People* (Reprint from Vol. II of "Series on Japanese Life and Culture," Tokyo: Kokusai Bunka Shinkōkai, 1938), pp. 106 ff.; Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*, (London: Kegan Paul, 1930), pp. 329 ff.; D. C. Holtom, *The National Faith of Japan* (London: Kegan Paul, 1938), pp. 189 ff.; Honolulu Star Bulletin, "Dancing Goddess . . .," *Sunday Features on Saturday*, May 17, 1952; Japanese Ministry of Education, *Shūkyō Nempō* (Tokyo, 1950), pp. 51-313, and *Shūkyō Yōran* (Tokyo, 1951), pp. 29-250. These books give statistics on religious bodies and show the extent of post-war sectarian proliferation: Iichi Koguchi, *Nippon Shūkyō no Shakaiteki Seikaku* (Tokyo University Press, 1953), pp. 72-103; Ronald L. Olson, *Mioshie: a New Messianic Cult in Japan*, a paper on the Dancing Religion read at the December meeting (1951) of the Western States Branch of the American Anthropological Association; Marvin K. Opler, *Two Japanese Religious Sects* [observed at the Tule Lake Relocation Center] (Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, vol. 6, pp. 69-78, 1950); SCAP, Civil Information and Education Section, *Religions in Japan* (Tokyo, 1948), pp. 117-120; Kusuo Watanabe, *Gendai Nippon no Shūkyō–Shinkō Shūkyō no Jittai* (Tokyo, 1951); Teigu Yoshida, *Odoru-Shūkyō no Bunka Jinruigakuteki Kōsatsu* (Ningen Kenkyū, no. 4, pp. 52-65, 1952). This article concerning the Dancing Religion was discovered after the field work of the present study and the over-all interpretation of data were completed. Factually the two analyses were found to be basically the same, but there are several differences in interpretation which will be commented upon: A. Morgan Young, *Religious Revival in Japan* (Asia, vol. 35, pp. 542-545, 1935).

4 Cf. William J. Goode, *Religion among the Primitives* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1951), pp. 19-25; and Joachim Wach, *Sociology of Religion* (University of Chicago, 1944), pp. 1-11, 374).

The mere waving of a handkerchief to a member departing on a train or helping the Kitamuras cultivate taro would appear to be non-sacred to the founder and her followers, but investigation points to the contrary. When taking part in the above activities the adherent is believed to be inspired by God and to be engaged in the holy work of building His Kingdom on earth.

Reifying degrees of sacredness and non-sacredness in the foregoing examples and in the sacrosanct realm of worship and beliefs proved largely unsatisfactory because Mrs Kitamura and her followers do not recognize degrees of sanctity in their religion. There is, of course, variation in such recognition among the devout and the less devout members which further research may possibly disclose, but it is believed that formal quantitative or further qualitative research in this specific area would prompt most persons being questioned to envisage the divine as being all-permeable and all-encompassing in their religion. It is further held that the study of religion is not valuably advanced if research devices inspire devotees to respond to their religion artificially.

The primary purpose of this study is to describe the Dancing Religion's doctrine, ritual, and organization, and to draw comparisons between the present sect and other Japanese religions. The main areas to be analyzed are the psycho-sociological factors which have shaped Mrs Kitamura's career, outstanding beliefs, ritual and worship, teachings regarding the crises of life, hierarchy, revenue, missionary work, and the sect's future. Problems which arise in classifying the sect as a religious movement will also be discussed. Most of the materials were collected in Tabuse by interviews and by participation in the sect's religious meetings and informal social gatherings.[5] To acquire information on activities outside Tabuse, the writer attended meetings in Hizumi, Kokura, and Tokyo. Documentary sources include Mrs Kitamura's biography, referred to as *Seisho* (Bible), and miscellaneous pamphlets. The resolution of data is by no means exhaustive. The sect is new and its doctrines are still in a formative state, but by corresponding with Mrs Kitamura it has been possible to keep abreast of most changes and to portray the religion essentially as it is today.

THE FOUNDER'S BACKGROUND

Women have played a significant part in the history of Japanese religion, particularly in the founding of popular or Neo-Shintō sects. The first woman teacher was a peasant named Kino (1756-1826). Her religion was "re-discovered" in 1927 and is usually referred to as *Konotabi*.[6] Among other cults established by

5 The field work was conducted between the months of January and August, 1952, while the author was on the staff of the University of California's Far East Extension.

6 Anesaki, *History of Japanese Religion*, pp. 311-313.

women is Tenrikyō, founded in the nineteenth century by Mrs Miki Nakayama (1798-1888). This religion is one of the largest and most influential Neo-Shintō sects and is often compared to Christian Science. Mrs Kitamura and the other two women are of peasant origin, have similar backgrounds, and promulgated analogous doctrines.

An understanding of Mrs Kitamura's personality traits and family life will help clarify the development of her religion and her career as a religious leader. She was born in Hizumi, Yamaguchi Prefecture, in 1900, the daughter of a prosperous farmer. She graduated from primary school and a private institute where she studied domestic science. Childhood friends report that as a girl she was of strong will, sincere, aggressive, high-spirited, athletic, very energetic, and easily provoked by dishonesty. She and her family belonged to the Jodō Shin sect of Buddhism and like most other Japanese, participated in the ceremonies and paid respect to the deities of State Shintō. No mention is made of her showing spiritual tendencies as a child. Her talent for leadership was recognized by her associates when in the early 1930's they elected her president of a women's club in Tabuse. It is reported, moreover, that a general once remarked before the sect was founded that if Mrs Kitamura were a man she would be a premier or a high-ranking officer. Her stature is approximately five feet and her physique is stout and muscular. She is witty, talkative, and generally good-natured, but is known to be quick-tempered around persons and conditions she considers unharmonious. Her only child, a son, is married and now living with his parents in Tabuse.

In addition to her qualities of sincerity, physical vigor, and talent for leadership there are three series of events which in their combined effect gave form to Mrs Kitamura's religious convictions and provided her with abundant courage to express them in public. The first series began in 1920 when she (Sayo Ekimoto) married Seinoshin Kitamura, the rather shy and timid son of a widow who was known in Tabuse for making life disagreeable for women living and working with her. Mrs Kitamura reports that her mother-in-law would marry her son to a robust, good-natured girl and then divorce her after the harvest or planting season on grounds of laziness, overeating, and general incompatibility. Sayo was Seinoshin's sixth bride within three years and like the other girls was abused by the old woman and repeatedly told to go home. Unlike the other brides, however, she refused to leave and resolved to be a good wife. Finally, in 1930, Take Kitamura became enfeebled and unable to dominate her daughter-in-law. Living with her mother-in-law is important because it enabled Mrs Kitamura to strengthen her character and will power and to contemplate during moments of dejection the supernatural and her relation to it. As Mrs Kitamura

now relates, "My mother-in-law enabled me to polish my soul and to make myself as I am today. When my resentment for her changed to gratitude, the Road to God opened."

The second series of events centered around the burning down of the Kitamura barn on July 22, 1942. Mrs Kitamura believed the disaster was an indication that she had failed at farming, betrayed her husband's ancestors, and that she should therefore change her occupation.[7] In sorrow and a state of mental confusion she went to Mr Kenryū Hirai, priest of a nearby Inari shrine, who was known for exorcizing evil spirits and determining causes of strange disasters. After praying to Inari-san (the god of fertility and of rice) he was informed that the fire had been caused by an arsonist, some nearby neighbor, who had quarreled with Mrs Kitamura on a trivial matter and had resolved to obtain his revenge.

Mr Hirai then told her that the culprit could be detected if she would pray once each month for one year at the shrine of Hachiman (the nominal god of war) near Tabuse. Accordingly, she went to the well by the side of her house at 1:30 AM, took a cold bath of purification,[8] and then rode two miles on her bicycle to the shrine. Her devotions were performed daily in hope that more intense worship would hasten the arsonist's identification, but because there was still no sign of his identity one year after the fire, Mr Hirai advised her to be more sincere. She extended her devotions through the night and paused between prayers to take cold baths by the shrine's well of purification. It should be noted that Mr Hirai served Mrs Kitamura as an important spiritual confidant and teacher during her religious formative period. It is significant, too, that one year after the fire Mrs Kitamura began to forget about the supposed arsonist and to experience religious ecstasy, unparalleled in thrill and personal satisfaction. She became conscious of a mysterious spiritual force or soul residing in her abdomen.[9] At first she believed that this strange inner force, which annoyed her and compelled her to do queer things, was an evil spirit, but it later identified itself, according to Mrs Kitamura, as the Absolute God of the Universe, *Tenshō Kōtaijin,* hereinafter referred to as *God-in-her-abdomen.*

7 Concerning compensation against deprivation and its effect upon the development of leadership, see Harold D. Lasswell, *Power and Personality* (New York: Norton, 1948), pp. 39-58.

8 Mrs Kitamura ceased to take cold baths of purification late in 1944. Shinshūkyō, a Shintō sect, stresses ritual purity and purgation by water.

9 For a large proportion of Japanese the soul area is in the abdomen, not the chest. Williams points out that the stomach was a main source of inspiration for many Papuans associated with the Vailala Madness (F. E. Williams, *The Vailala Madness and the Destruction of Native Ceremonies in the Gulf Division;* Territory of Papua, Anthropological Report, no. 4, 1923).

The third series of events had to do with social disorganization largely produced by the war. Beginning in the early months of 1944, Mrs Kitamura publicly condemned corruption in government, increase in black-marketing, and the general moral decay of Japanese society. Soon the residents of Tabuse and surrounding communities learned of her sharp tongue and forthrightness and avoided contact with her. Some of the townspeople believed she was suffering from nervous instability while others claimed she was an *inugami-mochi*,[10] a sorceress who inflicts a dog's spirit into her human victims. Even today there are residents of Tabuse and surrounding areas who fear and avoid Mrs Kitamura.

She relates that while praying before the family *kamidana* (a Shintō household sanctuary) late in September, 1944, God-in-her-abdomen told her that she must help save Japan. She agreed to follow this command and avers that at that instant her body was raised about a yard from the ground by some occult force. Knowing that God considered her necessary as a patriot of Japan, Mrs Kitamura was armed with immense courage and became convinced that she was a true redeemer. The conviction of being a messiah was reinforced when the two main servants of Absolute Almighty God, i.e., the Sun Goddess, *Amaterasu-ōmikami* (on August 12, 1945) and the Male Guardian God, *Kōtaijin* (on November 27, 1945), are said to have utilized her abdomen as a shrine and descended into it, thus forming a trinity.[11] Following the descension of the gods, her street-side sermons became more frequent and her condemnation of hypocrisy, dishonesty, and weakness more blunt and disarming. Most people called her *baka* (insane), and the police often warned her against preaching disloyalty. Mr Hirai, the above-mentioned priest, warned her not to speak ill of the Emperor whose divinity and leadership ability she had begun to question.

On April 23, 1945, Mrs Kitamura was placed in Yamaguchi Prison for refusing to tender her family's rice tax and for teaching that the government was unfit to collect imposts because it was staffed with an excess of swindlers, traitors, and "maggot-beggars." She stood trial and was released on probation May 31 after the court established that her motives had been basically patriotic and unselfish. During her imprisonment she preached to other inmates whenever possible, claims to have saved thousands of evil spirits, and declares that she converted the district attorney who prosecuted her case. Like Miki Nakayama of Tenrikyō and other evangelists who were imprisoned during the earlier years of their crusades, Mrs Kitamura became more convinced of her divine calling and was considered a martyr by her small group of followers.

10 John F. Embree, *Suye Mura, a Japanese Village* (Chicago, 1939), pp. 256-258.

11 According to Holtom (*op. cit.*, p. 220) Jikkōkyō, a mountain sect of Shintō, manifests trinitarian pantheism.

With talent for leadership, strong will power, and highly developed ethical sense, it is probable that Mrs Kitamura would have been an influential person in her adulthood even if the three series of events had not occurred after her marriage. Living in Japan where careers for women were limited in variety and prestige, it was apparent that her talent and excess energy could not be channelized into either politics or military service. Teaching, however, was a more acceptable medium whereby she could express her opinions, derive needed ego nourishment, and obtain a stronger sense of accomplishment which apparently did not accrue satisfyingly from farming, being a wife, and raising a son.

The three series of events over which she had little or no control are, of course, interrelated. The first series, with her "soul-polishing" and self-discipline, may be thought of as constituting the basic formative epoch. Mrs Kitamura gained self-confidence by transcending her mother-in-law's abuse and became more conscious of the supernatural and her need of divine guidance during periods of dejection. The second series served to catalyze her religious feelings. Midnight treks to the shrine, intense and frequent prayers, cold baths of purification, and being obsessed by the spirit in her abdomen—with ensuing anxiety and nervous instability—gave decisive form to her career. Japan was being defeated: Mrs Kitamura believed she could play a leading role in reforming her country, especially after she visualized herself as a messiah.[12] With the surrender and conjoined demoralization more people listened to her sermons and found consolation in her teachings, particularly in her assurance that although Japan may lose the war militarily she would lead the world spiritually and morally after hostilities ceased. The Occupation removed many restraints from her proselytizing and her sect grew rapidly.

MAIN TENETS OF BELIEF

The central belief is that Mrs Kitamura is God's Messiah on earth and is vested with the power to speak His words and to fulfill His desires. Mrs Kitamura affirms that she is God's only daughter and is destined to save mankind by leading in the establishment of His Kingdom on earth where men have ruled and have failed. She further states that "The moment I open my mouth the 'Divine Radio' is switched on, and you can listen to revelations directly from God."[13] She is believed to possess the power to free people from the *karma* of

12 Mrs Kitamura is not the first messiah to have appeared in Japan. In 1910 a man called Miyazaki proclaimed on the streets of Tokyo that he was a prophet and messiah (cf. Wilson D. Wallis, *Messiahs: Christian and Pagan*, Boston: R. G. Badger, 1918, pp. 123-124). Soon after the Pacific War a Mrs Nagaoka of Tokyo claimed to be a savior and sun goddess, but her cult, called Jikōkyō, was declared fraudulent and lost popularity.

13 Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō, *The Road to God* (Tabuse, 1952), p. 2.

their past lives, to redeem evil spirits, and by means of her *divine eyes*, to look into the bottoms of people's hearts and to guide them along the Road to God. Her teachings "are the words of God himself, full of truth and mercy of God. . . ."[14]

One of the most important functions of devotion in the Dancing Religion as in Shinrikyō,[15] a Pure Shintō sect, is the redemption of baleful spirits. Mrs Kitamura relates that at the time of Buddha and Jesus Christ people fought against evil spirits through their own will power. Today, however, man's power is insufficient to cope with these spirits because their strength has increased more rapidly than man's power to subjugate them.[16] Therefore, these evil spirits should be redeemed, not fought against, and once redeemed they become one's guardian angels. The instrument for saving spirits is prayer, and specifically the repeated, voiced recitation of *Na-myō-hō-ren-ge-kyō* which all members recite during times of personal strain and during religious gatherings.

This entreaty or formula is spoken the same as the *daimaku* of Nichiren Buddhism and at one time was written the same. When the Nichiren Buddhists protested, Mrs Kitamura eliminated the first Chinese character of the prayer and replaced the second, third, and fifth with different *kanji*. These modifications necessitated only one change in the spoken prayer, i.e., the elimination of the vowel "u" in the *Namu-myō-hōrenge-kyō* of the Nichiren sect, but this deletion was of little consequence because the vowel is seldom pronounced. The meanings of the two prayers differ. The Nichiren prayer is translated as "Glory to the Holy Sutra of the Lotus of the Supreme Law," and the Dancing Religion's, "A Woman Called by a Strange Name Will Appear and Unite All Scattered Prayers into One in Accordance with the Law of God."[17]

The following is the sect's main prayer. It is recited during all worship services and is said to have been given to Mrs Kitamura by God-in-her-abdomen.

Almighty God of the Universe, Eight Hundred Myriads of Deities [*Yao yorozu no kami*],
Peace for the whole world! Peace for the whole world!
When all the people comply with the Will of God,
Give us a Heavenly Kingdom which is pleasant to live in.

14 Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō, *Mioshie, the Divine Teaching* (Tabuse, 1950), p. 10.

15 Holtom, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

16 Shinran spoke of man's former ability to save himself by his own strength. Without this ability in latter days he must rely on faith and trust in Amida's mercy (cf. A. K. Reischauer, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism*, New York: Macmillan, 1917, p. 110).

17 The writer found difficulty in extracting from the Chinese characters the above translation which is the Dancing Religion's official English version of the formula.

The six roots of evil in my spirit are now entirely purged [*rokkon-shōjō*].
Therefore it cannot be that this Prayer will not be fulfilled.
Na-myō-hō-ren-ge-kyō (repeated).

Like Tenrikyō, a faith-healing sect, the Dancing Religion neither favors nor emphatically proscribes modern medicine as a means of allaying man's pain. Mrs Kitamura, however, preaches that the most efficient way of warding off and curing illness is to recite *Na-myō-hō-ren-ge-kyō* repeatedly and with great sincerity. In order to be sure of the prayer's maximum strength, the devotee should polish his soul by suppressing the six roots of evil, i.e., to regret, to desire, to hate, to covet, to love, and to be loved intensely or beyond limits. These six roots of evil are similar to the eight "dusts"[18] of Tenrikyō which are believed to encumber man until he removes them by sincere faith.

Another way of preventing and curing illness is to have personal contact with Mrs Kitamura. Many of the followers, previous to actual conversion, remark that through *Ōgamisama*'s spiritual power their complaints have been relieved and cured. A young man suffered with a surgical incision and states that it would not heal properly until he went to Tabuse, met Mrs Kitamura, and received her personal prayers. To show that she can assuage mental anguish, members tell of an old Korean woman who before conversion felt restless, had little interest in life, and always had a haggard expression on her face. After attending meetings, reciting the prayer, and following the personal advice of *Ōgamisama*, her appearance is said to have become youthful and radiant.

Faith-healing is a prominent feature of the Dancing Religion but is also pivotal in Tenrikyō and its various splinter groups. Members of the present sect believe in the curative power of *Na-myō-hō-ren-ge-kyō* and Mrs Kitamura's personal ministrations. They also believe that she can perform miracles and foretell the future with surprising accuracy. For example, it is said that she calmed the stormy waters of the Inland Sea during a typhoon and predicted when certain cities would be bombed. However, so far as the writer could determine, her purported charisma are not aided by magical art or artifact.[19] No effort was made to *verify* the many reported cases of cure by faith or to explore carefully her prophecies and miracles.

Mrs Kitamura has not disclosed intricate doctrine concerning life after death, heaven, and hell mainly because she is interested primarily in building God's Kingdom on earth for the benefit of living people. However, she frequently exhorts the members, who are referred to as *dōshi* (comrades), to "erase their

18 Holtom, *op. cit.*, pp. 275-278.
19 Cf. SCAP, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

black marks in Heaven" by polishing their souls. She further teaches that people are born on earth after having gone through all animal embodiments in previous lives.[20] While living on earth they must choose one of three alternatives: "to be punished in public disgrace [living hell], to suffer Heavenly capital punishment, or to become an angel who in free and undisturbed service [on earth], is instructed by God."[21] Of the two hells, the earthly state is discussed and emphasized more than the *heavenly* form.

To the members of Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō, egotism is to be suppressed as an evil because peace in one's own heart can only be obtained through salf-sacrifice. This same teaching is common to most of the Neo-Shintō sects, especially the faith-healing bodies such as Tenrikyō, Konkōkyō, and Kurozumikyō. Mrs Kitamura preaches that egotism is offensive to God and that only those people without it may become His children. When a person becomes unselfish his family members are said to be motivated by his example to cast away their egotism. The tranquility so obtained serves, in a Confucianist way, to establish peace in the community, in the province, the nation, and in the whole world.[22] Mrs Kitamura claims the human world has become degenerate because of egotism and that it must be suppressed for the sake of international harmony. The importance of lasting peace is thematic in her teachings. It is understandable, therefore, that this precept is popular among the large number of Japanese pacifists[23] and neutralists who want their country to become the "Switzerland of the Far East."

While recognizing the preëminence of *Tenshō Kōtaijin,* Mrs Kitamura does not exclude auxiliary deities or theomorphic spirits from the celestial hierarchy. The Sun Goddess and the Male Guardian God unite with Almighty God of the Universe to form the Holy Triune of the Dancing Religion. Their earthly shrine is believed to be the body of Mrs Kitamura. Benign and evil spirits are invisible and omnipresent; the evil ones must be converted; the benign ones are angelic; all must be acknowledged by the comrades. The Sun Goddess and *Kōtaijin* are recognized as Shintō deities, the phrase *yao yorozu no kami* appears throughout much of Shintō liturgy and sacred literature, and the words *rokkonshōjō* may be discerned in the Buddhist *Jūni-inen,* the Twelve Links of Cause and Circumstance.[24] Of equal interest are the employment of the Buddhist

20 Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō, *The Road to God* (Tabuse, 1952), p. 4. The same teaching may be recognized in Buddhist beliefs.

21 *Ibid.*

22 According to Holtom (*op. cit.*, pp. 257-267) Konkōkyō also strives for peace.

23 Cf. Frank Gibney, *Five Gentlemen of Japan* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Young, 1953), pp. 344-352; and Edwin O. Reischauer, *Japan Past and Present* (New York: Knopf, 1953), pp. 224-227.

24 Reischauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 ff.

concept *karma*, the Confucianist-associated method of reform, and the parallel between the Holy Triune and the Christian Trinity. Furthermore, it should be noted that the recognition of one supreme deity is not unique in Japanese religion. Both Konkōkyō[25] and Aizenen[26] acknowledge one supreme god.

RITUAL AND WORSHIP

The relative simplicity noted in Mrs Kitamura's teachings may also be seen in the sect's devotional mannerisms. During a typical worship service in Tabuse, Mrs Kitamura sits on a swivel chair or stands in what was formerly used as a *tokonoma* (an alcove) and sings or speaks her sermons to comrades kneeling on straw mats. After ten to fifteen minutes, when the first part of the sermon is concluded, she claps her hands two times, the worshipers clap theirs twice, and then all recite the prayer, "Almighty God of the Universe. . . ." Immediately following the prayer, all members, together with Mrs Kitamura, chant *Na-myō-hō-ren-ge-kyō* repeatedly for two or three minutes. This incantation, recited with great emotional fervor, is given emphasis by each member palming his hands and energetically thrusting his arms back and forth in a scrubbing manner. The palming of hands, whether during worship or while greeting one another on the street, signifies God and man joined together. The scrubbing motion of the arms, with hands in a position of supplication, is believed to hasten the redemption of spirits and the establishment of world peace. Following the recitation of *Na-myō-hō-ren-ge-kyō*, Mrs Kitamura and the comrades clap once more, and then the sermon is continued. The series of sermons and prayers may last for a half-hour to an hour.[27] Most of Mrs Kitamura's sermons are *ex tempore* and are chanted or spoken in three-quarter time on a pentatonic scale.

Between sermons it is not uncommon for members to confess their transgressions and to bear testimony to their faith. However, the comrades do not become unconscious or writhe violently on the floor during any part of their worship as do members of certain revivalistic sects within the United States.[28] The most revivalistic aspects of the cultus may be seen in the chanting of *Na-myō-hō-ren-ge-kyō* and in religious dancing.

Worship services are frequently followed by a ritualistic dance which to the

25 Holtom, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

26 SCAP, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

27 Worship services are held three times daily, except on days ending numerically in two and six, in the main chapel adjoining the new Kitamura house. Outside of Tabuse meetings are held, as a rule, on weekends in a member's home. One comrade, usually a man, who keeps in close touch with Mrs Kitamura and is rather well-known in his community, presides over the meeting, but his leadership is democratic and at times poorly defined.

28 Cf. E. T. Clark, *Small Sects in America* (rev. ed., Nashville: Cokesbury, 1949).

members is ostensibly one of the most satisfying aspects of their religion. In one corner of a room or yard stands the chanter. With eyes closed he begins to intone a prayer, thanking *Ōgamisama* and repeating her teachings. Then, one by one the members, individually and without organizational pattern, begin to dance to the beat, *one,* two, three, four; *one,* two, three, four; *one,* two three, four. Eyes are closed, hands weave expressively through the air, and bodies bend to and fro. Some members clap their hands to accentuate the rhythm; a climax is reached and then the movements become slower. Children and adults join in. While dancing, some comrades are said to attain a state of *muga* or selflessness in which they "move freely along the Road to God."[29]

Ritualistic dancing is not unique to Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō. In public worship members of Tenrikyō also employ this form of expression, and the psalms they recite during the dance are similar in content[30] to Mrs Kitamura's evangelic songs. Similarly, dancing in ecstasy while reciting the *nembutsu* is characteristic of the Ji sect of Amida Buddhism, but today dancing in this religion is often performed by professional dancers.[31]

At times of spiritual ecstasy usually activated by dancing, some persons "speak in tongues," a phenomenon which occurred during the Christian Apostolic Age, during the earlier, revivalistic years of several Christian denominations,[32] and manifests itself today in various new religious bodies.[33] On several occasions the author heard women shouting and singing words that were said to be of some unknown dialect. It was explained that the words were those of souls which had entered the speakers' bodies to express gratitude for having been saved. On other occasions those experiencing glossolalia uttered phrases known to be Chinese and English. After speaking, devotees cannot remember anything they said.[34]

Waving of handkerchiefs, like dancing, is one of the sect's most conspicuous traits. Whenever a member leaves on a trip the persons seeing him off wave their handkerchiefs and sing *Na-myō-hō-ren-ge-kyō.* In response the traveler chants the same formula and waves his handkerchief. All members on a passenger train passing in front of the Kitamura property observe this custom which undoubtedly gives them some feeling of security, of being united to one another by

29 Yoshida (*op. cit.,* pp. 63-64) interprets interestingly that members seek a state of ecstasy in order to escape the unpleasantness of reality.

30 Holtom, *op. cit.,* p. 274.

31 SCAP, *op. cit.,* pp. 58, 60.

32 Cf. D. Walker, *The Gift of Tongues* (London, 1906), pp. 1-79; and F. M. Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals* (New York: Macmillan, 1905), pp. 234-237.

33 Cf. Clark, *op. cit.,* pp. 93-96.

34 Yoshida (*op. cit.*) does not mention glossolalia in his description of the Dancing Religion.

common beliefs, of their importance as individuals, and of the exclusiveness of the organization to which they belong.

The sect's paucity of hieratic paraphernalia is in keeping with Mrs Kitamura's dislike of ostentatiousness and ceremonial complexity. For example, in the Kitamura chapel, and in homes outside Tabuse where meetings are held, the only tangible object having direct connection with worship is a placard on which the main prayer is written. *Ōgamisama's* customary attire is of Western style, i.e., blue serge slacks and jacket and a white silk blouse.

BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH, AND EDUCATION

At the present time Mrs Kitamura's teachings apropos to education and the crises of life do not show detailed development. Mothers are taught to have their children "naturally," without the aid of physicians or midwives, and to repeat *Na-myō-hō-ren-ge-kyō* when pain becomes severe. Mrs Kitamura tells of a woman who had frequent miscarriages and could not give birth to live, full-term babies until she became a comrade and recited the above entreaty.

After obtaining a civil marriage license, the couple appears before Mrs Kitamura or one of the "branch" leaders for prayer and counsel. The bride and groom are taught to be faithful to one another, to follow along the Road to God, and to raise their children as comrades. Prayers are simple and direct. Friends and relatives extend their felicitations to the couple but are taught to avoid nuptial celebration characteristic of the "degenerate, maggot world."

At the time of death Mrs Kitamura teaches her followers to congratulate the bereaved because the deceased has entered God's Celestial Kingdom.[35] The dead comrade is eulogized and his relatives are comforted. The corpse is either cremated or buried in accordance with Japanese law.

Although Mrs Kitamura asserts that modern education neglects the soul, she does not teach parents to prevent their children from attending public schools. Sewing classes with additional training in ethics and religious values are held in Tabuse and other communities with active branches of the religion, but at present there are no classes for boys in which handicrafts and religious instruction are combined.

HIERARCHY, REVENUE, AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

Mrs Kitamura's chief disciple is her son, Yoshito, referred to as *Wakagamisama* (the Young God). He is a graduate of an agricultural college, became a lieutenant in the veterinary corps, and after returning from the war in November,

35 This view of death is not dissimilar to that of Buddhism, although many Buddhists would probably consider congratulations, like grief, excessive and foolish.

1945, was gradually converted to his mother's religion. In addition to serving on Tabuse's town council, he gives his mother advice, helps his father[36] in the fields, and serves as an overseer of the scores of pilgrims who come each week to worship. Assisting Yoshito and Mrs Kitamura are persons such as Mr Sakiyama of Kokura and Mr Yamaguchi of Tokyo who keep in close contact with Mrs Kitamura, engage in missionary work, and superintend religious meetings in their communities.

When Mrs Kitamura dies her three-year-old granddaughter, Kiyokazu, will become the sect's spiritual and temporal leader. Her divine status approximates but does not equal that of her grandmother because God revealed, according to Mrs Kitamura, that there will not be another true *Ōgamisama* for 2300 years. This revelation closely resembles the Buddhist belief concerning the *Maitreya*. To prepare Kiyokazu for her future role, great care is taken of her health and special attention is paid to her spiritual training. No revelation has been received concerning her successor but it is possible that this person will be her daughter or granddaughter. Like Jikkōkyō,[37] a mountain sect of Shintō, the leadership of the Dancing Religion may continue to be hereditary.

The total membership of the sect is said to be 850,000,[38] but this figure is probably exaggerated because of a noted tendency on the part of Mrs Kitamura and her advisors to include as comrades those persons only nominally interested in her teachings. Regardless of total membership, about thirty percent of the followers are said to live in Yamaguchi Prefecture. No formal roster is kept of the membership, and since adherents are not baptized or otherwise confirmed as true comrades, their conversion is recognized when they regularly attend meetings. Among the members are scientists, teachers, doctors, lawyers, and merchants, some of whom were formerly members of Christian, Buddhist, and Shintō denominations. It is estimated, however, that over fifty percent of the comrades are farmers, small shopkeepers, and low-salaried employees.

There are no professional teachers and missionaries; the more articulate members serve in both capacities but receive no pay for their services. Proselytizing is active and zealous, similar to that of Nichiren Buddhists. Brochures in both English and Japanese are circulated and streetside sermons are not uncommon. Mrs Kitamura's biography is the sect's major publication. During 1952 the

36 According to members, Seinoshin is not a true believer. Most of his time is spent farming and he is not introduced to visitors. His role in his family appears to be one of reluctant submission to events and to changes in status over which he continues to have little or no control.

37 Holtom, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

38 In July, 1952, Mr T. Kotani of the Japan Religions League estimated the sect's membership to be approximately 300,000.

founder spent six months in Hawaii and reports that an "active colony" was established in the Territory. She has made preparations to come to the United States in 1954 to spread her gospel, but as in Hawaii, most of her converts will probably be of Japanese ancestry.

Members state they contribute materials and labor—not money—to their organization. Anyone visiting the Kitamuras will see five or six comrades working in their fields and performing miscellaneous chores in their yard, and it is said that new dormitories were constructed in the Kitamura lot without actual contributions of money. Mrs Kitamura reports that steamship tickets for herself and her attendants were purchased by well-to-do comrades who will be reimbursed by proceeds from the sale of the sect's publications. Gifts of labor and materials are probably sufficient to meet most other needs as they arise. Contact with comrades and interviews with non-members in Tabuse tend to show that the sect's financial structure is basically honest.

Because the Japanese government is severe with religious bodies known to be fraudulent and mercenary, the present sect has refrained from showing signs of opulence and has registered with the national government as a corporation. In denouncing mercenary religions, Mrs Kitamura once remarked, "Many religions exorcize the fox spirit[39] and charge people money. Our religion can remove evil spirits free of charge by a person's cleansing his soul through confession to God."

Is the Dancing Religion a transitory attempt to help people over the bumps of defeat and occupation or is it destined to be a permanent, growing organization? If Article XX of the Japanese Constitution, guaranteeing freedom of religion, continues to be enforced, the Dancing Religion and other new sects should be able to survive and grow. At the time of this writing there are no marked inter-personal rivalries or differences in belief among the comrades, but schism should not be dismissed as improbable in the future. During the next twenty years a certain amount of formalization may be expected in the sect but it will probably be gradual enough to prevent widespread dissatisfaction on the part of the members. Dancing and worship may become less emotional, and it is not unlikely that there will be a lessening of member-to-member intimacy and feelings of comradeship which exist today. As long as Mrs Kitamura remains active, however, it is improbable that there will be appreciable decrease in the religion's aggressiveness and isolation, but during her declining years and after

39 Cf. Basil H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese* (London: Kelly and Walsh, 1890), pp. 87-90; and Morris E. Opler and Robert Seido Hashima, *The Rice Goddess and the Fox in Japanese Religion and Folk Practice* (American Anthropologist, vol. 48, pp. 43-53, 1946).

her death, the sect's period of separateness may, in Professor Faris' words, be "followed by a more irenic era, when conformity with the outside world gets increasing approval."[40]

PROBLEMS AND CONCLUSIONS

The position of Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō as a religious movement is not entirely clear. To what extent is it nativistic, revivalistic, and shamanistic, and how is it related to established religions in Japan?

Professor Kroeber writes that a nativistic movement occurs after one of two societies in contact feels that "its own culture is in a process of being supplanted by another."[41] This feeling often produces effort to preserve or re-establish mores and institutions which are passing away. Linton states that the term "nativistic" has been loosely applied to a wide range of phenomena and would seem to agree with Kroeber that it pertains to "any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture"[42] which are being threatened by acculturative contact with other societies.

Let us examine the Dancing Religion in light of this definition. First of all, it must be remembered that this sect arose during the Pacific War, not after Japan's surrender and contact with Allied Forces. The social disorganization which impelled Mrs Kitamura to seek social reforms was generated for the most part in Japan by Japanese, but, of course, became more disruptive and demoralizing near the end of the war and during the early years of the Occupation. The Dancing Religion did not arise as an organized resistance to Japan's conquerors nor is it clearly a product of acculturation, of "continuous first-hand contact" between Westerners and the defeated Japanese. On the contrary, the Occupation and ensuing liberalization of Japanese institutions made it possible for Mrs Kitamura's sect to grow as an independent religion. She is perfectly aware that her organization could not have endured under the oppressive Religious Bodies Law of 1939-40.[43] Yoshida[44] appears to have overlooked this interpretation. There are no indications that Mrs Kitamura advocated the restoration of the Emperor's sanctity, the *zaibatsu* and militarists, or the revival of traditional *Yamato damashii*, Japan's spirit of independence and patriotism. Her attitude is not anti-Caucasian nor is it frankly anti-Western: it is rather one against amorality

40 Ellsworth Faris, *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1937), p. 56.

41 Alfred L. Kroeber, *Anthropology* (rev. ed., New York: Harcourt Brace, 1948), p. 437.

42 Ralph Linton, *Nativistic Movements* (American Anthropologist, vol. 45, pp. 230-240, 1943), p. 230.

43 SCAP, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-31.

44 Yoshida, *op. cit.*

whether Japanese or non-Japanese. Mrs Kitamura frequently denounces the harmful effect of Western material culture upon the souls of men but she does not desire a return to oil lamps, sedan chairs, shogunates, and *bushido*. She and her followers are not unwilling to utilize modern conveniences but they deplore the fact that many people are morally weakened by them.

In view of the above it is apparent that the Dancing Religion is not clearly a nativistic movement. In its ritual there are traits which are similar to those of movements which emerge in non-literate groups,[45] i.e., ecstatic dance and associated emotionality. Rapid growth and the messianic element common to the present sect and non-literate nativistic efforts may also be noted, but in social origin there are significant dissimilarities. The latter arise as a result of protracted submissiveness to government by foreigners and of accompanying cultural shock, whereas the Dancing Religion appeared as a reaction against social disorganization, largely caused by the war, which existed in Japan before her surrender. Mrs Kitamura was convinced she was a messiah in September, 1944, almost a year before the first atomic bomb was dropped, and began to preach on the streets of Tabuse early in 1944. Military defeats, final surrender, and the Occupation gave decided momentum to her movement but, as shown in her background, were not alone responsible for her becoming a religious leader.

The Dancing Religion may be thought of as revivalistic to the extent that Mrs Kitamura's prescribed morality partakes of concepts traditional in Japanese culture. Purging one's soul of the six roots of evil, for example, has been shown to be a Buddhist-associated trait. Like other religions with noted ethical content, the present cult seeks to preserve and reinforce important values and to foster morality, piety, and humility. Similar to the Holiness and Pentecostal groups studied by Holt,[46] the Dancing Religion defends old moral standards but does not present wholly new rules of conduct for new situations. However, as previously noted, members of Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō manifest much less emotionalism than revivalistic groups within the United States.

Yoshida,[47] in employing Linton's classification of nativistic behavior, claims that the Dancing Religion should be defined as "revivalistic-magical-nativistic" along with the Ghost Dance of the Paviotso and the Vailala Madness of the Papuans. According to the writer's research, this classification of *Odorii-Shukyō* sect lacks justification. Yoshida notes the parallels in ritual in drawing this con-

45 Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and its Derivatives: the Source of the Ghost Dance* (General Series in Anthropology, no. 1, 1935); Williams, *op. cit.*

46 John B. Holt, *Holiness Religion: Cultural Shock and Social Reorganization* (American Sociological Review, vol. 5, pp. 739-747, 1940).

47 Yoshida, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

clusion, but tends to ignore important differences in doctrine and origin. According to the Linton definition of magical nativism, the Dancing Religion's symbols of reform would, *inter alia*, be magically manipulated, but as shown above, Mrs Kitamura does not employ magic or sorcery. She claims to foretell future events through the guidance of God-in-her-abdomen. Her sect shows characteristics of each of the four types of movements described by Linton but does not fit well into any of them. The sect presents both revivalistic and perpetuative traits but is neither magical, wholly rational, nor typically nativistic.

Mrs Kitamura's biographical data disclose that during her early religious growth period she manifested behavior similar to that of East Asiatic shamans, i.e., being compelled to follow commands of an inner voice and general hyperexcitability.[48] Obtaining devoted followers, however, apparently had a calming effect upon her behavior, gave her more self-confidence, and did away with earlier anxiety induced to a great extent by the unpredictable commands of the spirit in her abdomen. Today she impresses Westerners and Japanese alike as being rational and without neurotic symptoms typical of shamans. Faith-healing and convocation of spirits are shaman-like ways, but are they not traits that are also manifested to a greater or lesser degree in traditional Shintō? The relationship between "The Way of the Gods" and shamanism is conjectural[49] but it is not improbable that Shintō was influenced in its earlier years by Taoism and continental shamanism.

Tenshō Kōtai Jingūkyō does not present organization, doctrines, and rituals which are entirely without parallel in other Japanese religions. Mrs Kitamura is not the first messiah to have appeared in Japan. Ritualistic dancing was shown to be characteristic of Tenrikyō and of the Ji sect of Amida Buddhism. Elements of faith associated with Christianity and Buddhism have been noted above, and to the Shintō-like traits previously set forth may be added the clapping of hands during worship. Other parallels may also be discerned. With its emphasis upon faith-healing and in showing Buddhist-Shintō influence, the Dancing Religion resembles Kurozumikyō, Konkōkyō, Tenrikyō, and Aizen-en. It is not improbable that contact with Mr Hirai may have had some bearing upon Mrs Kitamura's Shintō-like revelations and teachings, and it has been shown that the founder was a Shin Buddhist before announcing her messianic calling. Suffice it to say, there-

48 Cf. W. G. Bogoras, *The Chukchee* (Publications of the Jessup North Pacific Expedition, vol. 7, 1904-1910); and Mircea Eliade, *Le Chamanisme* (Paris: Payot, 1951), pp. 76-111.

49 Cf. Anesaki, *op. cit.*, p. 107. Genchi Katō in his book, *A Study of Shintō, the Religion of the Japanese Nation* (Tokyo: Meiji Japan Society, 1926, pp. 32-47) gives an illuminating discussion of Shintō spiritism. Koguchi (*op. cit.*, pp. 79-103) cites shamanistic characteristics of new religions.

fore, that the Dancing Religion is a composite of elements recognized in other Japanese religions. It is a non-schizmatic messianic sect with a lay clergy, shows strong Buddhist and Shintō similarities, has prominent reformist and moralistic tendencies, and professes trinitarian pantheism.

The sect stresses sincerity and gentleness of spirit without manifesting doctrinal subtleties or complexities. Aside from the belief that Mrs Kitamura is a true redemptress, the teachings are not absolutistic. Orientation is more toward the present and future than the past. Matters of theogony and world creation are not of great concern to Mrs Kitamura, although the recognition of the Sun Goddess and the Male Guardian God indicates that Shintō cosmogony is not completely repudiated or ignored.

After experiencing the three traumatic events or growth periods which had such great effect upon her personality, it is not surprising that Mrs Kitamura, with strong will power and supposedly innate qualities of leadership, became a religious mediator. Two of these growth periods occurred several years before Japan's defeat. Even without the third series of events it is believed that she would have become a spiritual leader of some sort although presumably much less outspoken than she is today. The founder has great power and influence over her followers both personally and through her teachings. Morale in her following is high. The religion is virile, aggressive, and growing, but may be threatened in the future by either schism or socio-political pressure. Like other Japanese religions, the sect is of value in helping people adjust to socio-cultural change. The Dancing Religion arose during the crisis of war but does not appear to be a sect that will expire while Japan reconstructs herself and regains prestige in the international community.

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